THE TRVE COPIE OF A LETTER

SENT

FROM THE MOST REVEREND WILLIAM Lord Arch-Biſhop of CANTERBURY to the *Univerſity of* OXFORD, when he reſign'd his Office of CHANCELLOUR.

Publiſhed

BY OCCASION OF A BASE LIBELL AND *Forgery* that runs under this TITLE.

And alſo the Anſwer *of the* VNIVERSITY *to the ſaid* LETTER.



OXFORD,

Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer *to the Univerſity*. Anno Dom. 1641.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO
MY VERY LOVING FRIENDS,
THE
VICE-CHANCELLOVR,
THE
DOCTORS,
THE
PROCTORS,
AND
The reſt of the *Convocation* of the *Vniverſity* of OXFORD.

AFter my hearty Commendations &c. Theſe are to remember my love to that whole Body. That love, than which never any Chancellour bare greater, or with more ferventneſſe and zeale to the publique good and happines of that Place.

And I doe heartily pray all, and every of you to believe me, for moſt true it is, that the unfortunateneſſe of my great affliction doth not trouble mee for any one thing more, then that I can be no farther uſefull or beneficiall to that Place, which I ſo much love and honour.

I was once reſolved not to reſigne my Place of Chancellour, till I ſaw the iſſue of my troubles one way or other. And this reſolution I took, partly becauſe I had no reaſon to deſert my Selfe, and occaſion the World to think me guilty: And partly becauſe I have found ſo much love from the Univerſity that I could not make my ſelfe willing to leave it, till ſome greater Cauſe ſhould take me off from that which I ſo reſolved on.

That Cauſe (if I be not much miſtaken,) doth now preſent it ſelfe. For I ſee the Univerſity hath great need of Friends, great and dayly need. I ſee my triall not haſtened; ſo that I am neither able to aſſiſt your great occaſions my ſelfe nor procure Friends

for

for them: I ſee that if you had another Chancellour you could not want the helpe w^ch^ now you doe. And I cannot but know that were your love never ſo great to me, it muſt needs cool, when you ſee me able to give no Aſſiſtance, and yet fill the Place which ſhould afford it to you. And I ſhould hardly ſatisfy my ſelfe, that I love you ſo well as I doe, if I did not further your Good and happineſſe by all the meanes I can, and even by this my Reſignation.

The ſerious conſideration of theſe things, and the foreſight which I have, that I ſhall never be able to ſerve you as I have done, have prevailed with me at this time, to ſend the Reſignation of the Chancellour-ſhip, to your Body met in Convocation. And doe hereby pray you that it may bee publikely read and accepted, the time being now moſt fit, that ſo your Honourable ſucceeding Chancellour may preſently appoint an able Deputy for the Government according to his owne judgement.

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And now I doe earneſtly deſire of you

all, either to remember, or to know, that I never ſought, or thought of the Honour of this Place to my ſelfe: And yet that ſince it was by the great favour and love of that Univerſity laid upon me, I have diſcharged it (by Gods grace and goodneſſe to mee) with great paines and care, and Gods bleſſing (I humbly thank him,) hath not been wanting. And I profeſſe ſingly and from my heart, if there be any Good which I ought to have done to that Place, and have not done it, it proceeded from want of underſtanding or ability, not Will or affection. And though I doe for the Cauſes aforeſaid reſigne this Place, yet I ſhall ſerve it ſtill with my Prayers, ſo long as God continues my life.

And as J doubt not but God will bleſſe you with an Honourable Chancellour, and one able to doe more for that Place than J have beene; ſo J pray God to give you a peaceable and quiet Election, and to direct it to the Good of this his Church, and the honour and happineſſe of that famous

mous Univerſity. That you may have no
miſſe in the leaſt of me, who (after
your Prayers heartily deſired)
now writes himſelfe
the laſt time

From the TOWER.
Iune 25. 1641.

Your very loving poore Friend
and CHANCELLOUR,

W. CANT.

AMPLIS-

AMPLISSIMO
ET
REVERENDISSIMO
DOMINO
GVILIELMO
ARCHI-PRAESULI
Cantuarienſi.

Reverendiſſime ARCHI-PRAESUL---*Hoc enim ſolum Tibi* (ſic voluiſti) *Nomen relictum eſt* .....

NOviſſimæ literæ tuæ, amoris, ſed & doloris, plenæ, fecerunt ut debinc nos planè ære dirutos diruptoſq; profiteri debeamus. Cum effuſiſſimo amori tuo, verbis (quod unicum nobis ſuppetit peculium) ut paria faceremus, nunquam ſperandum fuit; nedum dolori noſtro verba nos reperturos

perturos paria; Ne ſi paßis quidem eloquentiæ velis vehi, & totâ doloris prærogativâ frui liceret. Hodie verò, ut ſunt tempora, ad juſtiſſimum dolorem noſtrum non levis hic acceſsit cumulus, quòd eum in ſinu premere & quaſi ſtrangulare neceſſe habeamus; Quibus ne illud quidem tutò queri licet, in ea nos tempora incidiſſe, in quibus ſingulari tuæ prudentiæ & erga nos amori conſultiſsimum viſum ſit, noſtrag; quàm maximè intereſſe, ut Res ac Fortunas noſtras à Tuis ſegreges habeamus & ſejunctas. Quanquam verò ſupremo Numini ſic viſum eſt, ut illud nobis beneficij loco imputandum haberes, quòd maximum beneficiorũ tuorum, Teipſum, à nobis ſegregares, & Cancellarij munus abdicares; Affectus tamen tuus erga Academiam noſtram propenſiſsimus, tum literis tuis noviſsimis, tum aliis frequentibus argumentis abundè teſtatus, dubitare nos non ſinit, quin depoſito invidioſo Cancellarij titulo, amantiſsimi Patroni affectum adhuc in ſinu tuo retineas. Quamdiu Manuſcripta(a) illa κειμήλια Tua, Orientis ſpolia, & verè ἥλιος ἀναθήματα Bibliothecam noſtram illuſtrabunt; quamdiu Lectura Arabica, à Te

(a) MSS Cod. plus quàm MCCC. De quibus plus quam CCCXXX Linguis Oriental. ſcripti. & paulò minus C. Ling. Gr.

Te(b) *dotata, frequentabitur; quamdiu Antiquitatis vindices simul & teſtes antiqua*(c) Numiſmata *viſentur; quamdiu caſtigatior diſciplina, mores emendati, morumque Canon* Statuta *vigebunt; quamdiu pro ſtudio partium bonarum Artium ſtudia colentur; quamdiu literis honos, honori Literæ erunt,* Cancellarium *adhuc eſſe Te, ſentiet præſens Ætas; fuiſſe, poſtera agnoſcet. Dehinc, immortalitatis ſecurus, gloriæq; Tuæ ſuperſtes, diu hìc poſteritati tuæ interſis; Ac demum, ubi mortalitatis numeros omnes impleveris, plenus annis abeas, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos abdicaſti. Ita vovet*

(b) Salarium Profeſſoris Ling. Arab. XL. lb. Annex.

(c) Hebr. Græc. Roman. Famil. & Imper. Britannic.

Dat: è Domo Convocat:
6°. *Julij*. 1641.

Amplitudini Tuæ omni cultûs ac obſervantiæ nexu devinctiſſima,

ACADEMIA OXON.

CAMILTONS Discoverie,

OF THE

DEVILISH DESIGNES AND KILLING PROJECTS

of the Society of

JESUITES

of late yeares,

Projected and by them hitherto acted in GERMANY,

Intended, but graciously prevented in *England*;

Translated out of the Latine Copie;

DEDICATED

To the high Court of Parliament,

By *W. F. X. B.* Minister of CHRISTS Gospell.

From all Sedition and privie Conspiracie, from all false Doctrine and Heresie.

Good Lord deliver us.

LONDON,

Printed by T. FAVVCET, dwelling in *Grubstreet*. 1641.



TO THE HIGH AND HONOURABLE

The LORDS and House of COMMONS of *England* in PARLIAMENT Assembled.

My Lords and Gentlemen,



Bout twelve yeares agoe there came to my hand a little tract written in Latine *by one who stiled himselfe* JOHANNES CAMILTONUS, *and professed himselfe to have been sometimes a Probationer in that Colledge of Jesuites in* Germany, *whereof* JACOCHS DEL RIO, *at that time Provinciall was the Visitor: This booke, in the yeare* 1607 *was by him written and dedicated to the Protestant Electors of* Germany, *as a Discovery before-hand of*

theſe moſt dammable practiſes which that Society then had in agitation againſt the people of Germany. *The title of this booke was,* De ſtudiis Ieſuitarum abſtruſioribus, *concerning the more ſecret and reſerved practiſes of the Ieſuites: whereunto had theſe Princes, to whom this booke was Dedicated, given ſuch timely care and beliefe as they might have done, they had in all probability prevented the greateſt part of theſe unparallel'd miſeries, which ſince the beginning of the warres there (and that was not till eleven yeares after the publication of this booke) theſe* Incendiaries *of Chriſtendome, have brought upon the* Germaine *Nation, to the aſtoniſhment of all the World. But wee ſee what hath ſince beene permitted to theſe fellowes to doe, and what the neglect of a timely taking-heed to a ſeaſonable warning hath brought upon thoſe then flouriſhing Princes and States.*

That we therefore might learne ly other mens harmes to redreſſe our owne particular, I have endeavoured the publication of this tranſlation under your honours protection; having taught this Diſcoverer to ſpeake our language, for the publique benefit of our Engliſh *Nation, againſt them, I dare boldly ſay, even your ſelves being my Judges when you ſhall have read this ſmall tract, that the ſame courſe hath beene taken by theſe common* Incendiaries *for breeding a diſturbance, and bringing all things into a confuſion both in our Church and State, that was then projected, and ſince then acted upon* Germany. *Nor doe I thinke, but it is ſufficiently knowne to your Honours and grave Wiſedomes, that the ſame wheele of miſchiefe, that wrought all the woes*

of

of Germany *ſince the yeare* 1618. *hath for ſome yeares laſt paſt, bin ſet alſo at worke in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: *witneſſe all the factions and fractions in Church and* State, *the diſturbances and diſcontents betweene the Prince and the people, the fearefull diviſions betwixt the Clergie and the Clergie, betwixt the Court and City, and betwixt the King and his Commons, yea, even betwixt the two Crownes of* England *and* Scotland, *all which have received their birth and breeding from the deviliſh deſignes of thoſe ſonnes of diviſion, the* Society *of* Jeſuites, *and beene fomented almoſt to a perfect flame by their Agents, and Adherents, their deluded Diſciples of this Nation, and had undoubtedly broken out, and produced in ſhort time, the like effects among us, that they have done in* Germany, *had not Almighty God in meere mercy to this Nation, and in his Divine compaſſion to his poore Church in* England *thus ready to periſh, ſtept in to our reſcue, by his bleſſed hand of providence ſtirring up the ſpirits of our noble Peeres to repreſent to his ſacred Majeſtie the eminent danger, and gratiouſly inclining his Royall heart to hearken thereto, and ſo that we may ſay with the* Pſalmiſt, Pſ. 118. 23. This was the Lords doing, and it is marvailous in our eyes. *And the ſame God, if it be his bleſſed will, in his owne time, by his owne meanes, perfect that good worke of mercy, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun for us of this Land and Nation, by rooting out from amongſt us that diſloyall brood of* Inigo Loiola, *that our eyes may ſee it, and we may ſay, the Lord hath beene magnified upon the borders of* England. *For aſſuredly, though the*

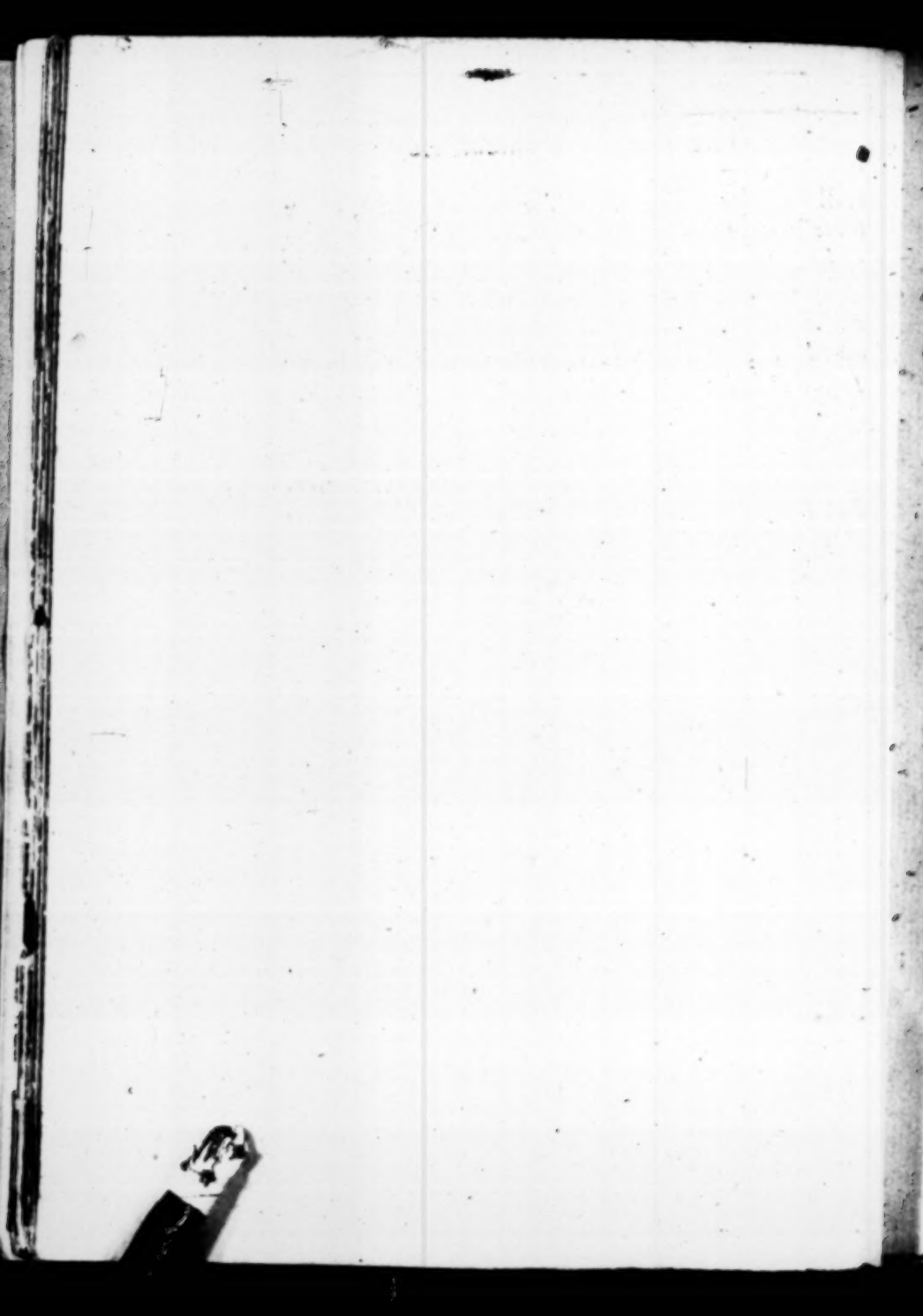
Romiſh *Factors, may now juſtly ſay, as* EDOM *did in the Prophecye of* Malachy, 1: 4. *We are impoveriſhed, but we will returne, and build up our deſolate places, (for they cannot but be ſenſible of their owne Counſels defeated both by Sea and Land, by Water in the yeare* 1588, *by Fire,* 1605, *and it is not to be doubted that they apprehend a feare of the miſcarriage of their great and long intended* plot of WE *now begun to breake out this yeare* 1641, *and which notwithſtanding, they ſtill retaine a reſolution to returne and build up their deſolate places) yet I deſire them, to read and take notice of the words following in the place before-cited, yet, thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts,* They ſhall build up, but I will deſtroy, and men ſhall call them the border of wickedneſſe, and the people with whom the Lord is angry for ever: *And your eyes ſhall ſee it, and men ſhall ſay the Lords name hath beene magnified upon the borders of* England. *And to ſpeake truly what I thinke, I muſt confeſſe that I have conceived an hope of a long time, that this yeare* 1641. *which compleateth the Century ſince that Society had their Bull from the Pope, under protection whereof they have wrought ſo much miſchiefe, would ſhew unto the world an apparant alteration in the body of that Monſter, the Society of* Jeſuites. *A point which I am the rather induced to beleeve, becauſe I have been certified as much in effect from a couple of their owne men of eminent note for learning, the one,* PAVLUS FLORENIUS *an* Italian, *the other* CHRISTIANUS FRANKEN *a* German, *the former whereof was* DIVINITY READER, *the other* PHILOSOPHY READER *in the* Imperiall

riall *Colledge of Ieſuites at* Vienna, *both which, above threeſcore yeares agoe, upon juſt grounds expreſt in a booke by them publiſhed, forſooke that Religion, and became Proteſtants. That booke alſo is to be ſeene, and if it pleaſe this Honourable Houſe to command it, ſhall be publiſhed alſo in* Engliſh, *for I find it written in* Latine. *And, if their prediction faile not more in the concluſion then it hath done in the progreſſe hitherto. I am confident that this may prove a very fatall yeare to that Society But I feare I hold you too long from the Booke it ſelfe*

Humbly therefore commending you all to Almighty God in my due and daily prayers. I leave this Diſcovery to your conſideration, and reſt

Yours in all the duty of a Miniſter of Chriſts Goſpell.

W. F. X. B.



CAMILTON'S Diſcoverie,

OF

THE DEVILISH DESIGNES AND KILLING

Projects of the Society of JESVITES of late yeares.

WHat MARCUS CATO ſometimes ſpoke concerning the *Romane* South-ſayers; that hee wondred how they could forbeare to ſmile upon each other, ſo often as they met, may not unfitly be applyed to the *Jeſuites:* It is a wonder that one *Jeſuite* when he looketh upon another doth not ſtraight way burſt forth into a laughing outright, they being amongſt themſelves privie to ſuch impoſtures practiſed upon the people. I ſpeake not touching your ſimpler ſort of *Jeſuites*, from whom theſe more reſerved and cloſer practiſes of the Society are altogether concealed, either in re-

ſpect they are not held wiſe enough (for ſooth) to be acquainted with them, or that they are thought too devout to entertaine them, or elſe in regard of their ſhort continuance in that Society: for all ſuch are ſo kept ſhort through ſeverity of Diſcipline, that not one of them, except he be wondrous quicke of ſent, can ever ſmell out in the leaſt meaſure what knavery is therein practiſed under a ſhew of Holineſſe. My diſcourſe onely toucheth the prime and principall fellowes of that Society, their *Regents*, *Fathers*, *Provinciais*, and *Generals*; all which, are ſo univerſally and joyntly tainted with all manner of wickedneſſe, but eſpecially with Whoredome, Covetouſneſſe, and Magicke, that indeed any reaſonable man may thinke it little leſſe then a Miracle, if a *Ieſuite* of this ranke meeting ſuch another upon a ſudden, and beholding, as it were, another picture or lively repreſentation of himſelfe, ſhould have power to abſtaine from laughing outright.

I therefore thought it not amiſſe, conſidering the premiſſes, to lay open unto the world ſome particular paſſages, and practiſes of that Society, of the greateſt part whereof my ſelfe have beene an eye-witneſſe, and ſome part whereof hath beene related unto me by *Ieſuites*, whom I am able to name, and will undoubtedly nominate, if they ſhall but dare in the leaſt manner to lift up their tongues againſt mee, or to contradict what I have written. And howſoever at this time I paſſe over things briefly, and doe onely (as it were) give you a firſt draught there-

thereof, I doe purpoſe in due time (God aſſiſting me) to doe it more largely and compleatly, with expreſſion of all and ſingular circumſtances thereunto appertaining.

Firſt of all then, at your entrance into any Colledge of *Ieſuites*; eſpecially, if it be ſcituated in or neere unto any large, and populous, and rich place. But alas, why doe I ſay, if it be built there (ſeeing they have no Colledges in any poore, meane, or obſcure place) At your firſt entry I ſay into ſuch a place or Colledge, take principall notice of the Porter of their Gate, and him you ſhall find to looke like unto the picture of a very *Charon*, or rather a *Cerberus*; For the moſt part you ſhall obſerve him to be a man of very great yeares, or if hee bee younger, he is a fellow of moſt approved truſt and ſecrecy. And this is the man, if any ſuch there be, who is well skilled in all the nayſteries of the *Ieſuites Caball*, or reſerved *Divinity*.

In this fellowes keeping is great ſtore of apparell both for Men and Women of every degree and calling. And with this apparell doe the *Ieſuites* habit themſelves according to the quality that every one findeth himſelfe ableſt to perſonate, and ſo practice wonderfull Impoſtures in the World. For at ſometimes being habited like *Soulaiers* very gallant, they walke in the ſtreets and highwayes *whoring* and *Swaggering* in the publike Stewes. At other times in the civill habites of *Citizens*, profeſſing themſelves to be of the reformed Religion, they pry up and downe and liſten in Innes, in

Play-houſes, in Tavernes, upon the Exchange; and in all places of publike meetings, whereſoever there is any frequent reſort, what the people ſpeak up and downe concerning them, what conſultations are abroad, what matter of Action is ſet a foot in any part. Another while, like Doctors of *Phyſicke*, or of the *Civill Law*, with great Rings on their fingers, avowing and purpoſely profeſſing themſelves to be Papiſts; whereſoever they know any of the Common ſort that is wealthy and hath ſons, they deviſe ſome cauſe of buſineſſe with them, and inſinuate themſelves into their acquaintance by ſtrange fetches, and in Concluſion doe adviſe them to bring up their ſonnes in ſome Schoole or Colledge of *Ieſuites*, affirming that themſelves have beene educated by them, and that they have ſo profited under them, that (God be thanked) they never had cauſe to repent thereof: And ſometimes againe apparelled like Noblemen, and compleatly attended, they cauſe Coaches to be provided abroad, and frequent the Courts of Princes, as giving attendance upon Ambaſſadours of forraigne States, and ſerve as Intelligencers to vnlocke the Cabinets of great Potentates.

Nay further, I have knowne them to make ſhew of being baniſhed perſons, and to crave collections amongſt Proteſtant Divines, purpoſely to learne under-hand what ſuch men write againſt them: yea ſuch were thoſe men for the moſt part, who ſo miſerably deluded ſo many Reverend men in many places by ſiniſter waies under that habit, furthering the

the designes of their Society, and breeding disturbances in the reformed Congregations: of whom, to the end that all honest-hearted Ministers may be more wary, I shall tell you hereafter, what projects at this day the *Iesuites* have a foot to this purpose.

But in the meane while perhaps you will say unto me, whereto, I pray you, serveth so much womens apparell, or what is their end in depositing so much in the keeping of the Porter of their gate? Attend, and I will tell you: No Pander, that ever Terence or Plautus mentioned in their Comedies, was so nimble at the trade of winning pretty wenches, as are the *Iesuites* at this day, but especially that Porter of their gate, whom I mentioned but now.

For, that which the Confessors themselves are not able to wring out of them by Auricular Confession in their Churches and Chappels, this fellow knoweth how to winne from them by flattering speeches, with wonderfull pleasing and delightfull toyes, especially if he meet with a poore widdow, or any such silly woman which sendeth her child to the College now and then for an Almes; or with some Laundresse, or Spinster; for be she *Lotrix*, or *Netrix*, hee will make her a *Meretrix*. Whom so soone as this base Pander hath once but allured to come to his net, although her apparell be never so old and tattered, yet he hath gay Gownes enough in store, with accoutrements suitable, wherewith he can make her both tricke & trimme, which when he hath done, he knoweth how to convey her through many secret passages and by-waies

to his *Venerable* Maſters, the Fathers of the *Society*. And yet he never doth this in the day time, but neere upon the ſhutting in of the Evening, and then they make away the whole night in Ryot and Luxury, with Revelling and Dancing, the younger ſort and Novices of the Society being kept farre enough from Diſcovery thereof.

For they have for the purpoſe certaine Vaults framed like Chambers, and roomes under ground as had thoſe ancient *Romanes*, who firſt deviſed their Stewes in Vaults, whoſe inclination to all carnall laſciviouſneſſe was ſo great, and ſo bruitiſh, that the Senate of *Rome*, fearing the juſt anger of their Gods for the ſame, utterly ſuppreſſed thoſe *Lupanaria* or publike Stewes.

And thus much for the Ieſuites Porter of their Gate: onely I muſt not forget to tell you this one thing, that if any party who by chance ſhall come to the ſight of ſuch and ſo great a Wardrobe, doe demand with admiration, what is the end or uſe of it, anſwer is made unto them, that it is the Wardrobe, reſerved purpoſely for acting of Playes: but that is the leaſt part of their intention to my knowledge.

Moreover, when thou entreſt into any of their Churches, make account that thou walkeſt under an heaven of Iron: Bloody *Mars* is over thine head, not that Prince of peace; below thee is the very pit of Hell, and a ſhop of Tormenters.

I now doe relate in good earneſt, what mine own eyes have ſeene; At *Prague* in *Bohemia* upon the rooſe of their Churches are thouſands of Iron Bullets, Whips, and fire-bals, ſuch as the *Bohemians* uſe, upon

upon the ſides are placed pieces of Ordnance, with a great number of Muſquets and Harquebuſhes, with Pikes and Halberts. In the middeſt, where the Arches meet, are great heapes of huge Bullets of ſtone. And the like preparation have they alſo made at *Cracovia*. Nor doe I make queſtion, but that upon due ſearch their Colledges in other places, would appeare as well provided.

But ſome man may perhaps make queſtion. To what end Religious men ſhould make ſuch preparation, or what need there can be ſo to doe? I confeſſe, the matter at the firſt ſight aſtoniſhed me, and my beſt underſtanding was exceeding ſtrange: but thus ſtandeth the caſe.

The *Jeſuites* know well enough, that the courſes which they have taken formerly, and now every day doe take, are ſo indirect and turbulent, as maketh them odious, to all ſuch as they live amongſt; yea, to very Papiſts themſelves, at leaſt to the wiſer ſort of them, in reſpect of many things which they have done both tumultuouſly, and wickedly, whereſoever they have got footing in the leaſt manner. For they have no regard of any, they ſpare not to roote up the very *Catholiques* themſelves, ſo that they may pleaſure the *Popes* Holineſſe therein, though it were with the betraying of their Countries, and ſetting the whole Chriſtian world in a Combuſtion. And therefore becauſe they are in daily feare to be maſſacred by thoſe among whom they live, they make this provident and timely prevention by Warre-like preparation.

For

For indeed, they are afraid (as I my ſelfe have heard them confeſſe) leſt it might befall unto them as unto the Knights *Templers*, who notwithſtanding they were forward enough to ſerve the Pope at all times, and as good Catholiques as could be wiſhed in the matter of Religion; yet, for their too much Ambition and Covetouſneſſe, whereby they became inſupportable, they were by conſent of all *Chriſtian* Princes, and not without approbation from the Pope himſelfe, put to the Sword all at an inſtant, and utterly rooted out almoſt in a moment; as ſometimes were the *Pythagorians*, thoſe very *Ieſuites* in effect, among the Heathen, ſerved throughout *Italy*, and the Provinces adjoyning.

Now the reaſon, wherefore they doe make choice to lay up their Armes and munition in their Churches, is onely this: For if when any Inſurrection or rebellious tumult ariſeth in a Province, the Papiſts come thither to helpe and aſſiſt them, by this meanes they have Armes for them in a readineſſe upon a ſuddain: but if any who are of contrary Religion come thither to doe them wrong, or to ſteale any thing from them, they have munition & ſtones above head, to deſtroy them withall before they be aware. And is not this (I pray you) the ready way to make *the Houſe of Prayer, a Den of Theeves*?

And yet by your patience, if you will but attend, I ſhall relate things more ſtrange and horrible then theſe, in reſpect whereof, the things I have related hitherto, may well ſeeme tolerable, I may almoſt ſay Innocencie.

Under

Under the Pavement of their Church at *Gratz*, and elſe-where, to my knowledge, are Vaults and buildings under ground; whereunto, there is no way but by ſtaires, and ſteps; Here have they hoorded up (like to that *Cacus* whom *Virgil* ſpeaketh of) all their prey and treaſure, and doe obſcurely conceale a world of wealth: ſo profeſſing poverty, not onely with publike conſent, but alſo with incredible pleaſure, ſuffering the ſame with admirable patience, and curſing to the pit of Hell, all ſuch as are poore againſt their wils, as unworthy of ſo bleſſed a Croſſe.

But as for this their treaſure, for the moſt part it is ſo contrived, that it is buried directly and perpendicularly under their greateſt and chiefeſt or moſt eminent and higheſt *Altar*, and ſo they ſhall be ſure that when they Chant Maſſe, they ſhall *Sacrifice* to Mars above head, and to Mammon below.

Now furthermore, in their Vaults under ground they maintaine a very ſtrange *Library*, of Cords, Halters, Rackes, Swords, Axes, Iron-pincers, Stockes, Torches, Pillories, and ſeverall Inſtruments of Torture, wherewith and whereunto poore wretches being tyed faſt, are joynt by joynt torne a ſunder, as many as fall into the hands of theſe Tyrants, who are farre more cruell in this kind, then Mezentius or Phalaris ever were.

Nor are they without a Divels coate, and a long ſteeple-crown'd hat, with blacke feathers, a jagged doublet cut and ſlaſhed, breeches puffed out and

bagged like bellowes, downe to their anckles, ſuch as would even make a man affrighted to looke upon them.

But perhaps, he that readeth this Relation, will wonder to what end Religious perſons, who profeſſe themſelves the *Diſciples* and followers (as they would have all men to beleeve) of our moſt meeke Saviour JESUS, ſhould make ſuch proviſion. I will reſolue you this queſtion alſo, if you pleaſe to attend.

With ſuch inſtruments as theſe, doth the *Societie* captivate the underſtanding of their Diſciples, unto Jeſuiticall obedience. For if in the leaſt matter, they get any hint of ſuſpition, againſt any of their Novices, that he will not be conſtant, or that he deſireth to eſcape from them, and that he is likely to betray the ſecrets of their Society, they clap up ſuch a fellow, in a faire paire of Stocks, and having macerated him a long time with hunger, and cold, and want of all bodily comforts; at the laſt, they make an end of him, with ſome exquiſite tortures, and killing torments. I doe not belye them. I write nothing but a truth. There was at *Gratz*, about three yeares agoe, a young man named JACOBVS CLVSSEVS, a youth of an excellent and pregnant wit; this man did they lay hands upon, and miſerably tormented him, by whipping and ſcourging, for a matter of no moment, and becauſe he told them plainly, that he would renounce their *Society*, and complaine publikely (if ever he got liberty) for this and other ſuch wicked dealing towards

wards him, they clapped him up into ſuch a Priſon, under ground, as aforeſaid, from whence hee was never ſeene to come out againe alive.

Nor did any of us that were Novices, make queſtion, but that he was made an end of, with moſt exquiſite torments.

Which unparallel'd piece of tyranny, I purpoſe in due time to divulge to the whole World, with relation of all circumſtances, being the thing which the poore wretched *Cluſſæus*, had a purpoſe to have done himſelfe, if he had not been hindered and prevented by death.

I ſhall withall make publike unto the World, another ſuch piece of Villany, committed by the *Ieſuites* of *Fulda* in *Germany*, upon the body of one MARTINUS, whom they ſtole away moſt baſely from his Parents, who are yet living at *Miltenberg* or *Milberg*.

And how many women thinke you, have beene devoured and eaten up in the ſame Gulfe? How many young Children ſlaine? How many young men, that have beene ſole Heyres of very large and ample Patrimonies, have beene made away by them? I doe not ſay, J thinke, but J beleeve, and am firmely perſwaded, ſo often as ſhrikes, and cryes, ſighings, and moſt woefull lamentations, were heard in the night ſeaſon, the hearing whereof; would put a man into a cold ſweat all over, and make his hayre ſtand on end, though our ſimpler Novices, beleeved them to bee

the Soules of ſome lately departed, it was nothing but the ſhrikes and mone of children lately murthered, or then a murthering.

Moreover, that the extreame and Diveliſh malice of *Jeſuites*, may be in nothing defective, they are accuſtomed divers times, in thoſe their Vaults under ground, to make the Divell very fine ſport: putting on terrible diſguiſes, they cauſe ſome of their Novices to be called downe to behold their Tragedy, upon whom they will ruſh ſuddainly with an horrible yelling noyſe, to make tryall, (forſooth) of their courage and conſtancy.

For if they find any to be timorous and feareſull, they admit not ſuch a man to the ſecrets of *Magicke*, as accounting them cowardly and degenerate, but appoint them to ſome of the inferiour Arts: but ſuch as appeare to be of bold and undanted Spirits, they take eſpeciall notice of them, and reſerve them for ſerious imployments.

And yet they are not alwaies ſucceſſefull for all this, as appeared by that which happened at *Prague* in the yeare 1602. For whereas there were five principall *Ieſuites*, who being habited as Devils made ſport with their youth. It ſo fell out, *that there was found to be a ſixth in their company, before they were aware, and he queſtionleſſe was a Divell indeed, who catching up one of the perſonated Divels in his Armes, gave him ſuch a kindly unkind embrace, that within three dayes after, he dyed of it.* The fact was common talke at Bake-houſes, and Barber ſhops, and at every table diſcourſed upon, all over *Prague*.

And

And yet for all that, the reſt of them, as nothing abaſhed with this *Tragicall event*, dare ſtill in an height of obſtinacy, proceed in that moſt ungodly and Diveliſh ſtudy of Magicke.

Now amongſt that whole Society, the prime man for a Magician, is a *French Ieſuite*, whom the King of *France* himſelfe, had in ſo high eſtimation, that he admitted him not onely to his Princely table, but alſo to familiar conferences in private; concerning whom, the *Ieſuites* themſelves did make their boaſt, that he had a glaſſe made by Art-Magicke, wherein he could plainly repreſent unto the King, whatſoever his Majeſty deſired to ſee: inſomuch, that there was nothing ſo ſecretly done or conſulted upon in the moſt private roome of any Cloyſter or Nunnerie of other *Orders*, which he could not eaſily and inſtantly diſcover, and diſcloſe, by helpe of this his Inchanted, or rather Diveliſh glaſſe.

And indeed it was by the Art and meanes of this *Magitian Ieſuite*, that their Society was confident, *that they ſhould be alle to draw on their ſide, one of the moſt potent Princes of the Empire, albeit a Proteſtant: foraſmuch, as he was obſerved to be ſomewhat delighted in the Study of Magicke.*

Now, as for thoſe whom they take in as Novices to be inſtructed in this way, they expound unto them thoſe nine hundred Propoſitions, which Picus, Earle of *Mirandula* publiſhed at *Rome*: as alſo the Booke of *Iohannes Tritemius*, together with a Tract or Treatiſe touching abſtruſe or hid-

hidden Philoſophy, written by *Cornelius Agrippa* : Likewiſe *Theophraſtus*, concerning the Conſtellations and Seales of the Planets, with the *Steganographia* of I know not what Abbot, and the Art of *Paul* to procure Revelations : meaning Saint *Paul*, whom they affirme to have beene inſtructed in the Art *Magicke*, and thereby to have underſtood ſuch high Revelations and profound Myſteries.

Yea, they bluſh not to affirme, that St. *Iohn* was an excellent Magician : Nor doe they ſticke to ſay, *that even our bleſſed Saviour* CHRIST IESVS *himſelfe, was a moſt abſolute and perfect Magician*, as mine owne eares have heard it oftner than once or twice related by ſome of that Societie, and ſuch as I am able to nominate.

And thus much for the *Jeſuites* Church : onely, take this direction along with you ; Thoſe Vaults and Roomes under ground, which I mentioned even now, thoſe ſecret Conveyances and *Circean* Dennes, are for the moſt part contrived to be under the Quire or Cloiſter, not where the people doe walke or ſtand.

And now when thou ſhalt paſſe from their Temple into their Study (for I will ſay nothing touching their Parlour, or Chambers, Refectories, or places of Recreation, inſtruction of Novices who are newly admitted, and the trayning up of other Schollers committed to the *Jeſuites* tuition ; nor yet touching the Methode and Order of their Studies, but will reſerve that for another Diſcourſe ; ſeeing

ſeeing thoſe paſſages are for the moſt part knowne abroad already, being diſcovered by another.) When, I ſay, thou ſhalt enter into their publike *Library*, thou ſhalt finde a moſt exquiſite choyſe of Authors of all ſorts, all of them moſt curiouſly bound up in Leather or Parchment with fillets of Silver or Gold: and as for ſuch whereof there is daily uſe, they are layd in order upon Deskes, faſtened with chaines upon a long table.

But as for the inner *Library*, that is onely reſerved for the Fathers of the Society: it is free for none but them to goe in thither, and to borrow thence what bookes they thinke good. Thoſe ordinary bookes, are onely free for the *Iuniors* of the *Societie*, nor may they take a ſentence out of the reſt without ſpeciall leave obtained from the Regent.

Moreover, in this firſt Library, are no Heriticall bookes (as they call them) but onely the Writings of moſt approved Authors and *Catholickes* all: For they hold any other unworthy to be placed amongſt them, as fearing perhaps they ſhould infect the reſt.

Looke therefore upon thy left hand, and there thou ſhalt ſee the wretched bookes of *Hereticks*, (as they tearme them) ſtanding all in Mourning for the faults of their Authors, bound up in blacke Leather, or Parchment blacked over, with the very leaves thereof dyed in blacke.

Of theſe, not one of the Fathers themſelves may make

make choyse or use, without leave obtained from the Regent before-hand: but your inferiour *Iesuits* and younger Novices, may not be so bold, as to desire the sight of any one of them, except he will before-hand, with all virulencie and bitternesse, raile upon, and disgrace the Author, whom he desireth to see, by some infamous Libell, and scurrilous Satyricall verse, or writing.

In the middest of these severall *Libraries*, is placed a Study, being divided into many Seates distinct, and separate one from another, with a blew covering: *on the right side whereof, sit the Fathers; on the left, the under-Graduates; who have already taken some Degrees upon them.* The other Novices, or *Fresh-men* (as wee call them) sit mixt with the fellow-Commoners, *that they may take notice of them, and every man in his turne, beate into them by continuall discourses, the sweetnesse and excellency of the Order of Jesuites; especially, into such as are of the richer sort, or wealthy heires.*

I will say no more at this time, as touching their Studies, but I will describe briefly, the manner of the Visitation, which every Provinciall maketh; because it is a point, which as I thinke, and for any thing that I ever read or heard, hath beene never hitherto divulged by any.

Now every *Provinciall* taketh his Denomination from the Province, or Kingdome rather, which is committed to his charge, and oversight. His place is to visit the severall Colledges, to take an account of their Revenues, and over-see their expences

pences, exactly and punctually: to take notice, what Noble perſonages commit their Sonnes to the tuition of the Society, and how many they are in number? Whether there be not yearely an increaſe of Schollers, as alſo of their meanes and Revenewes? Whether there be any converted from *Lutheraniſme*, and how many ſuch?

If there be no ſuch thing, or if the Popiſh Religion have loſt ground, or if there be any decreaſe of their wealth, hé ſharpely reproveth their ſloath and neglect, and chargeth ſtrictly, that they make an amends for the wrong they have done, and loſſe they have received in this caſe. But if they have beſtirred themſelves bravely, and converted (as they call it) or rather perverted many Soules to Popery, if they have beene frugall, and ſcraped wealth together, he praiſeth them very highly, and extolleth them to the skyes. Moreover, he demandeth what is the opinion of the Neighbouring *Hereticks* concerning them? What be the projects of the Nobles? What meetings they have? How many? And where? What they conſult upon? What they reſolve to doe? Whether the Hereticall Princes (as they tearme them) delight to live at home or abroad? To whom they reſort moſt frequently? What is the ſeverall diſpoſition of every one of them? In what things he is obſerved to take moſt delight? Whether he take any care of his people or not? Whether he be a Religious Prince or not? Or rather, whether he be not a man, who delights to take his pleaſure in drinking, Wenching, or

Hunting? Whether he have any Catholickes about him, or that are neere unto him? What the people report abroad, concerning their owne Princes? Whether the Churches of the Adversaries, be full of resort, or not? Whether the Pastors of those Churches, be learned and diligent men in their place and calling, or otherwise lazie Lubbers, and unlettered? Whether the Profession of Divinitie thrive, in the Neighbouring University of *Heretickes*? Whether their Divines maintaine frequent Disputations, and against whom principally? What bookes they have published of late, and upon what Subject?

To these, and sundry such questions, if the Regent, and the rest of the Fathers doe answer punctually, he doth wonderfully commend their industry and vigilancy.

If he find them defective in answering to these or any such demands, hee reprooveth them sharpely, saying: what meane you my Masters, doe you purpose, like lazie companions, to undoe the Church of *Rome*? How doe you suppose your slothfulnesse in these waighty affaires, can bee excused before his *Holinesse*? How is it, that you presume to take these places upon you, and to manage them no better? What or whom are you affrayd of? Why doe not you buckle up your selves better to your businesse, and performe your places like men? These things (if you had beene such men as you ought to bee) had not beene to doe now. These things should have beene done long before this time. Doe you observe

ſerve the incredible watchfulneſſe of the Heretickes, and can you be lazie? And with theſe or the like ſpeeches, hee whetteth them on to their duty.

At the laſt, he enquireth as touching the ſchollers, fellow-Commoners, Novices, and the reſt, how many they are in number? How much every one hath profited? To what ſtudy or delight each one is inclineable? Whether there be any one amongſt them that is ſcrupulous, or untractable, or not a fit ſubject to be wrought upon? For he adjudgeth every ſuch an one fitting to be removed from the ſtudy of Divinity; except, he have bin very well exerciſed in the Diſputations in Schooles, and have a very great and good conceit of their Religion beaten into him. Moreover, hee enquireth if they have any one in the Colledge, who can be contented, for the advantage of the Catholicke cauſe, to undertake any laudable attempt, and to ſpend his blood in the cauſe, if at any time neceſſity ſhall ſeeme to require it.

And at laſt, he ſendeth away all theſe informations being ſealed up, unto the Father Generall at *Rome*, by whom, they are immediately made knowne to the *Pope* himſelfe and his Conclave of Cardinals: And ſo by this meanes, an order is taken, that there is no matter of Action ſet on foote, nothing almoſt conſulted upon, throughout the whole Chriſtian world, which is not forthwith diſcovered unto the Pope, by theſe traytors, that lurke in every ſtate and Kingdome. Alſo, it is not to be omitted, that the *Ieſuites* are tranſlated by

their Provinciall, from one Colledge to another, and that for the moſt part once in three yeares, that ſo the Provinciall out of their ſeverall diſcoveries, may attaine to unlocke all the ſecreteſt Cabinets of the Prince and State, where he doth reſide.

In the laſt place, I will adde, in ſtead of a Corollary, ſome ſtrange and wonderfull devices of the *Ieſuites*, which being but of late newly hammered in the forge, they have earneſtly endeavoured, yea, and at this day doe labour, tooth and nayle to put in practice by publike conſent, for an Innovation to be made both in the Church and State throughout the whole *Romane* Empire. To this end, their chiefe and onely aymie is, how to ſet the Princes of the Empire together by the eares, and by taking off ſome of the Principall Doctors of the Church, to bring the tyranny of the *Spaniard*, and the Primacy of the *Pope*, into *Germany*. Concerning which very project I have heard the Provinciall DEL-RIO himſelfe, diſcourſing ſometimes, whoſe plots and Machinations, were ſuch as follow. In the firſt place (ſaith he) care and paines muſt be uſed, to eſtrange the affections of the Princes of the Empire, one from another.

Now the meanes (ſaid he) to effect that, is to worke upon their contrariety of opinions, in matters of Religion: And for this end let the Emperor be incited to make a Declaration, that he will not grant liberty of Conſcience in matters of Religion, except there ſhall firſt be a reſtitution made of ſuch goods, as were taken from the Clergie upon the treaty at *Paſſaw*: for this is a point whereat they

they will ſticke aſſuredly, and deny it.

Let the Emperour thereupon ſend his Princes, and demand the ſame of the Cities of the Empire. They will either obey or deny: if they conſent and obey, all is well: if they refuſe, let him proclaime them Rebels, and expoſe them to be ſeized upon by the next neighbouring Princes, but ſtill let the matter be ſo carried, that he be ſure to oppoſe a *Lutheran* and a *Calviniſt*, the one againſt the other.

Moreover, ſome device muſt be found out, *that the Duke of Bavaria may fall foule either upon the Elector* Palatine, *or upon the Duke of* Wittemberg, *for then may the Emperour be eaſily wonne to proclaime him Traytor whom the Duke of* Bavaria *ſhall diſtaſte, and all meanes taken away of making pacification either with Papiſt or Calviniſt for them*; beſides, thereby will be raiſed unreconcileable diviſions in the Empire, never to be quenched before an high-way be made for the accompliſhment of our deſires. For the further ripening of which Deſigne, the *Ieſuites* unbethought themſelves further of this *Stratagem*. It will follow (ſay they) neceſſarily, when any City of the Empire ſhall be proclaimed rebellious, *that every ſeverall Prince will be more ready and willing to ſerve his owne turne upon the ſpoyle thereof, then to admit any other that ſhall be emulous of the ſame booty to prevent him*. This for the Generality. More particularly yet, meanes muſt be found out, to ſet the Princes of *Saxony* at difference, that their ſtrength and power may bee broken, or at leaſt weakened.

Now that may bee moſt conveniently effected

thus: first, if the Administration of the Primacy of *Magdeburg*, which now is vacant, be given to the *Bavarian* Elector of *Colen*, neither the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, nor the Duke of *Saxonie*, will eaſily grant their conſents thereto.

Secondly, if that ſucceed not according to our deſires, there muſt be ſome cauſe pretended, why the Duke of *Saxony* either doth ſeeme worthy, or ought to ſeeme worthy to be removed from the Electorall dignity. For, if in times paſt, the Princes of the Empire caſt downe *Wenceſlaus*, from the *Imperiall* Throne, becauſe they had adjudged him a negligent Prince: ſurely the Emperor may take as juſt an occaſion, to remove, from the Electorall Dignity, the Duke of *Saxony*, who is drunke every day. And in this reſpect, let his *Imperiall* Majeſty reſtore and conferre that Dignity, upon the houſe and family of the Dukes of *Weymar*. And becauſe theſe Princes are yet under age, let the Adminiſtration of that Electorſhip, be committed to *Henry* of *Brunſwicke*, a learned and vigilant Prince. This project being once ſet a foote, cannot chuſe but beget infinite diſtractions, throughout all *Saxony*, ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that they ſhall waſt and weary themſelves one againſt another, and by that meanes, become utterly unable to withſtand a common foe, when he ſhall come upon them.

And as for the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg* and them of *Pomerania*, let meanes be uſed to move the King of *Poland*, who is the Emperours kinſman, to covenant with his vncle the King of *Swethland*, that they two ſhall invade and divide *Pruſſia*, and *Canton*

ton the ſame: which thing the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg* will oppoſe with all his powers. Now as concerning the *Landgrave* of *Heſſen* he muſt be urged and ſolicited daily to divide the inheritance equally with his vncle *Lodowicke*, and to reſigne the government of *Hertsfield* to the Biſhop of *Wirtzburg*: if he refuſe to doe ſo, let him be proclaimed Rebell, and let his inheritance be aſſigned unto his uncle *Lodowicke*.

Moreover, as for the Duke of *Wittemberge*, and the Elector *Palatine*, they two may with eaſe be ſet together by the eares, if the Duke be commanded to make reſtitution of ſome Religious houſes, or otherwiſe upon his refuſall be proclaimed Rebell, and ſome neighbouring Monaſteries be aſſigned to the Elector *Palatine*, and amongſt them one eſpecially, which he hath bin obſerved to have aymed at long agoe.

And theſe be thoſe killing projects of the *Ieſuites*, which I have heard from their owne mouthes, not without admiration even to aſtoniſhment, and they have many more of like ſort, all vvhich I doe not at this preſent remember.

Moreover, there hath beene a Conſultation among the *Ieſuites* to ſend abroad ſome bold *Aſſaſſinates*, who by Poyſon or by the Piſtoll, may cut off the principall Doctors of the Reformed Churches, fellowes who are ſo abſolute Maſters in that trade of Poyſoning, that they are able ſo to infect Platters, Saltſellers, Baſons, Kettles, pots, and Caldrons, and ſuch like veſſels of ordinary uſe; that albeit they ſhall be ten times over waſhed and wiped, yet ſhall they retaine the power and infection of moſt deadly

deadly and ſpeeding poyſon. Wherefore, I humbly adviſe all godly and Religious Governours and Miniſters of the Church, that hereafter they be wary, and cautelous how they truſt any, but ſuch as of whoſe fidelity they have had ſufficient tryall.

And theſe things could never have fallen within compaſſe of mine underſtanding, nor ever did, before ſuch time as I heard them from the Principals and Heads of the *Society* of *Ieſuites*, together with many other particulars, which I held my ſelfe bound in Conſcience to reveale to the world, for the good of my Country, and of the Church of CHRIST: which although J have for the preſent onely given you as in a rude and firſt draught; yet I purpoſe (God willing) in due time, to expreſſe the ſame at large, painting them out in their Colours, with circumſtances of time, place and perſons.

A Post-script to the Reader.

COurteous Reader (*if so thou art pleased to shew thy selfe by taking an impartiall view of this short but well-intended translation*) *I doubt not but by this time thou art able to discerne the face of the times, and of thy selfe to make a true parallel betwixt* Germany *and us, and dost see evidently the foot-steps of that mystery of Iniquity, which, by the contrivements of the pragmaticall Society of* Jesuites, *hath for many yeares beene set at worke amongst us. As there the foundation of their worke was laid in working upon their diversities in opinions, and seconded by advantage taken upon the severall humors of the Princes, propounding to each one some such ends as his nature most affected: so may I truely say they have done here also. To what other end was the pestilent Doctrine of* Arminius *introduced, whereby to make a party that might prove strong enough in time to oppose the* Puritan faction, *as they stiled it? why was so great care and paines taken to leven all considerable sorts of people of what degree soever, with those erroneous points, but to the same end? And can we chuse but thinke that* Socinianisme *crept in after* Arminianisme *purposely to make the breach the wider, that it might be large enough to let in Po-*

pery at the full in concluſion? Doubtleſſe, as our Saviour ſometimes ſaid to his Diſciples, in another caſe, John 4. 35. Say not ye, there are yet 4. moneths, and then commeth Harveſt? Behold, I ſay unto you, Liſt up your eyes, and looke on the Regions, for they are white already unto Harveſt: *ſo may I ſay now; moſt men thought it might yet be 4. moneths, or ſome good diſtance of time before the* Ieſuite *could attaine to reape the Harveſt of his deſire among us. But I ſay unto you, lift up your eyes, and looke on the Regions, they are white already unto Harveſt: Or, if I may not ſay they are, becauſe Gods gracious hand of providence hath diſappointed their hopes, yet I aſſure my ſelfe that any man of ordinary underſtanding will confeſſe, that within the ſpace of this yeare laſt paſt, our Land was already white to their Harveſt, The Kings Majeſtie was wrought to an evill opinion of his people, the Commons were grown diſcontented with the preſent Government, two adverſe Armies were lodged in our Land, and all this with a new whole Army of evill conſequents brought on by the ſecret contrivements of our Adverſaries, and on all hands the way was ſo prepared, Altars ſet up and Prieſts enough in readineſſe, as that nothing was wanting to ripen their Harveſt for the ſickle, but a Proclamation for ſetting up publique Maſſe in all our Churches: which things when I ſeriouſly conſidered, and now of late looking againe upon the Regions, I diſcerne what an alteration God hath begun to worke amongſt us by the pious endeavors of this happy Parliament, I cannot but take up that ſaying of the Pſalmiſt,* Pſ. 124. 1,2,3. If the Lord had not beene on our ſide, *may England now ſay;* If the Lord had not beene on our ſide, when men roſe

up

up againſt us, they had then ſwallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us, Then the water had drowned us, and the ſtreame had gone over our Soule; *If the plots of the pacificant* Arminians *had once ſet up the bridge of reconciliation, whereon the Proteſtant and Papiſt ſhould have met, and the trap doore had taken effect*, then the ſwelling waves had gone over our Soules indeed: But praiſed be the Lord which hath not given us as a prey unto their teeth; Our Soule is eſcaped even as a bird out of the ſnare of the Fowler, the ſnare is broken and we are delivered, *So that we may truly ſay as the* Pſalmiſt *there concludeth*, Our helpe ſtandeth in the name of the Lord vvhich made both Heaven and Earth. *And now what remaineth for us to doe but this? By daily & earneſt prayer, to begge a bleſſing upon our gracious* Soveraigne, *the Kings Majeſtie, and upon the high and honourable Court of* Parliament, *that God will be graciouſly pleaſed to finiſh, by their happy conſultations and pious endeavours, that good worke of mercy which he hath ſo graciouſly begun for this Land and Nation, to make a totall and intire reformation in Church & State, and particularly to roote out this diſloyall brood of* Inigo Loiola *from amongſt us, preventing their plots, and turning the wiſdome of their* Achitophels *into fooliſhneſſe, that the Goſpell of* Jeſus Chriſt *may have free paſſage amongſt us, untill his returne to judge the quick and dead. This is and ſhall be the daily prayer of*

Thy well-wiſhing friend and ſervant in the duties of a Miniſter of Chriſts Goſpell

W. F. X. B.

FINIS.

True newes from IRELAND,

Being a Relation of the life and death of *Humphrey Pownſtall* one of the Iudges of the *Common-pleas*, who was hanged in *Dublin* in *Iune* laſt for his extortion and briberie.

Alſo a deſcription of the Impriſonment of *Ionas Paiva* Uſurer for the wrong through *Pownſtall's* meanes which he did to *Iohn Stanſtrop* a poor countriman, with a touch of ſome of the Judges of *Englands* actions.

LONDON,
Printed in the year of Iubilee to all wrong'd poor men. 1641.

I Would invoke the Tragicall Muſe *Melpomene* to aſſiſt me now, but that the ſubject on which I write is unworthy of ſuch aid, ſuch aſſiſtance belongs to one which writes of a man killed, not a man, (a man ſaid I? he was not worthy that name, but a Traitor) whoſe onely endeavours were to kill, his beſt thoughts arrived at no other haven but miſchiefe, as you will perceive by this enſuing Hiſtory.

He of whom I muſt now ſpeak was one of the Judges in *Ireland*, of the *Common-pleas*, in the City of *Dublin*, who alwayes pretended ſeeming good wiſhes to the Common-wealth, thereby to blinde men, that they might not perceive him when he cut their throats, as you ſhall perceive by two or three of his pious actions.

There dwelt an honeſt poor man in the Diocceſe of *Waterford*, which did hold ſuit with a rich Uſurer of *Dublin*. The poor man had an occaſion to uſe a little money to diſcharge his Rent, Quarter-day being come, his Landlord living in *Dublin*, he was wiſhed to go unto this Uſurer, and upon ſufficient ſecurity he would furniſh him with what moneyes he pleaſed,

being allowed ſome conſideration for the uſe of his money.

At theſe words the poor man was very joyfull, and away preſently he goes to the old Uſurer, to whom ſo ſoon as he came he made his caſe knowne, who preſently condiſcends to his requeſt, but this by the way my Friend, I would have you know I do not uſe to let my money out without ſome ſecurity, but tell me how much money will ſerve for your occaſions? the poor man anſwered that fourteen pounds would be ſufficient. Well, ſaid the Uſurer, what ſecurity will you give me for it? The poor man had a ſmall Cottage, with a parcell of Land adjoyning unto it, and that was he willing to morgage for three moneths, rather than he would forfeit the Leaſe of the Houſe wherein he dwelt. Writings were drawne and delivered to the Uſurer for the ſecurity of his money, with this proviſo, the money being paid at the three moneths end, the poor man was to have his Cottage and parcell of Land reſtored backe again; both parties being agreed, away goes the poor man, by name *Iohn Stanſtrop*, unto his Landlord, and payes him his Rent, and then returnes home to his owne habitation again.

The three moneths being almoſt expired, he comes to *Dublin*, to redeem his Cottage and parcell of land, amounting to the ſumme of ten pounds *per annum*, being come into *Dublin*, to the Uſurer he goes, but the Uſurer told him, he did not uſe to receive his money untill it was due, there were yet two dayes to come,

come, the poor man ſpent thoſe two dayes in viſiting his friends, and the third day he went to pay his money, according to the Uſurers demand, whom ſo ſoon as the old Foxe ſaw, he ſeemed to be very joyfull, and preſently ſent his boy for ſtore of wine, commanding a joint of meat to be roaſted, more than he had ever done at one time thirty yeares before, wine ran about merrily ſo long that at length the Uſurer and his boy made the poor man ſo drunke, that he was not able either to go or ſpeak, in that caſe he lay all that day and night.

The next morning he went to the Uſurer, to give him thankes for his entertaiment, and to pay him his money: but the Uſurer ſo ſoon as he ſaw him, began to rail at him, calling him Rogue and Raſcall, and asked him what he did there, ſaying, that he never ſuffered any Beggers to come within his doores, therefore he bid him be gone, his Land was forfeited, the day was paſt, neither would he receive any money, bidding him mend himſelfe as well as he could, and thereupon ſhut the door againſt him, the poor man took counſell about it, and went to ſuite with him, whoſe ſucceſſe was after this manner.

Tearme being begun, both their Cauſes were pleaded at the *Common pleas*, where this Judge *Pownſall* ſate as Judge: the poor mans Cauſe a long time went beſt, but the Judge ſitting made as if he would have roſe to have gone to piſſe or the like, and going, beckened to the Uſurer, who followed him, and being in a convenient place, the Judge asked him what he would

give to overthrow his Adverſary, he made anſwer, ten Pieces with all his heart· give me twenty, ſaid *Pownſall*, and it is done: content, ſaid the Uſurer, whereupon he cals to the Jury, and told them his minde, and ſo aſcended his ſeat again, the Counſell having done pleading, the Jury was called and ſworne, who notwithſtanding their Oath, brought in their verdict againſt the poor man, which was the utter undoing of him, his Wife, and poor Children; this was one of the pious acts of this moſt horrid and corrupt Judge.

Alſo he was one that would ſucke mens eſtate by ſpeaking the leaſt word, though it were but againſt his Worſhips Gowne: there was a Trades-man did but ſay,

Surely Iudge Pownſtall *loves a cup of good Sacke, his noſe lookes ſo red.*

For which, the ſpace of three yeares was he caſt into cloſe Priſon.

Another did but ſtrike one of his Hownds, for which he ſet all his Hownds to devour a whole flocke of Sheep, and by his damned Equivocacies he proved it to be lawfull.

Theſe were upright dealings, were they not? but God which ſuffers for a while will not ſuffer for ever: at length a Parliament was held in *Dublin*, and then was this falſe Judge by thoſe which he had wronged accuſed, but eſpecially by an old woman whoſe ſon he had hanged for another mans fact.

The poor man of whom I ſpake before, produced ſome

ſome of the Jury which he had bribed, their Conſciences accuſing them for the deed, to bear witneſſe againſt him, the poor man had his Cottage and parcell of Land reſtored, and two hundred pounds dammage given him, paid out of the Judges and Uſurers eſtates, the Uſurer was kept Priſoner two moneths, and all his Lands ſeiſed upon, and morgaged to the poor man for as many moneths as the poor mans were morgaged to him.

The Judge for the crimes forenamed and others which were brought againſt him, was convicted, condemned, and hanged nigh to the time which the Biſhop of *Waterford*, and *Iohn Child* his Proctor were hanged, and well he did deſerve it; God made him a Ruler to do according to equity, not to delight in nothing but corrupt affaires as he did, he ſet him to judge Iſrael, but not to devour its inhabitants.

He ſhould have ruled his owne actions ſo, that by the example of them others might have learned to have done, not according to their owne imaginations, but according to juſtice and equity, which is true piety. Were it not my intent to be briefe, I might parallell this Judge of *Ireland* with ſome of ours in *England*, as it is too well knowne amongſt us: reade but their Charge, and you will finde ſome of their facts not inferiour to this mans, and no queſtion but according to their deſerts they ſhall be rewarded, which I hope, will be a warning to all future Judges, that they may do the widow right, and not diſannull the fatherleſſe childes cauſe, for baſe lucre, which may be a cauſe of damning their ſouls perpetually: this God of his great mercy grant. Amen.

FINIS.

ENGLANDS SAFETY, IN TRADES ENCREASE.

Most humbly Presented to the High Court of PARLIAMENT.

Mercatura si tenuis, sordida; si magna, splendida.

——Quærenda pecunia primum.

BY

HENRY ROBINSON, *Gent.*

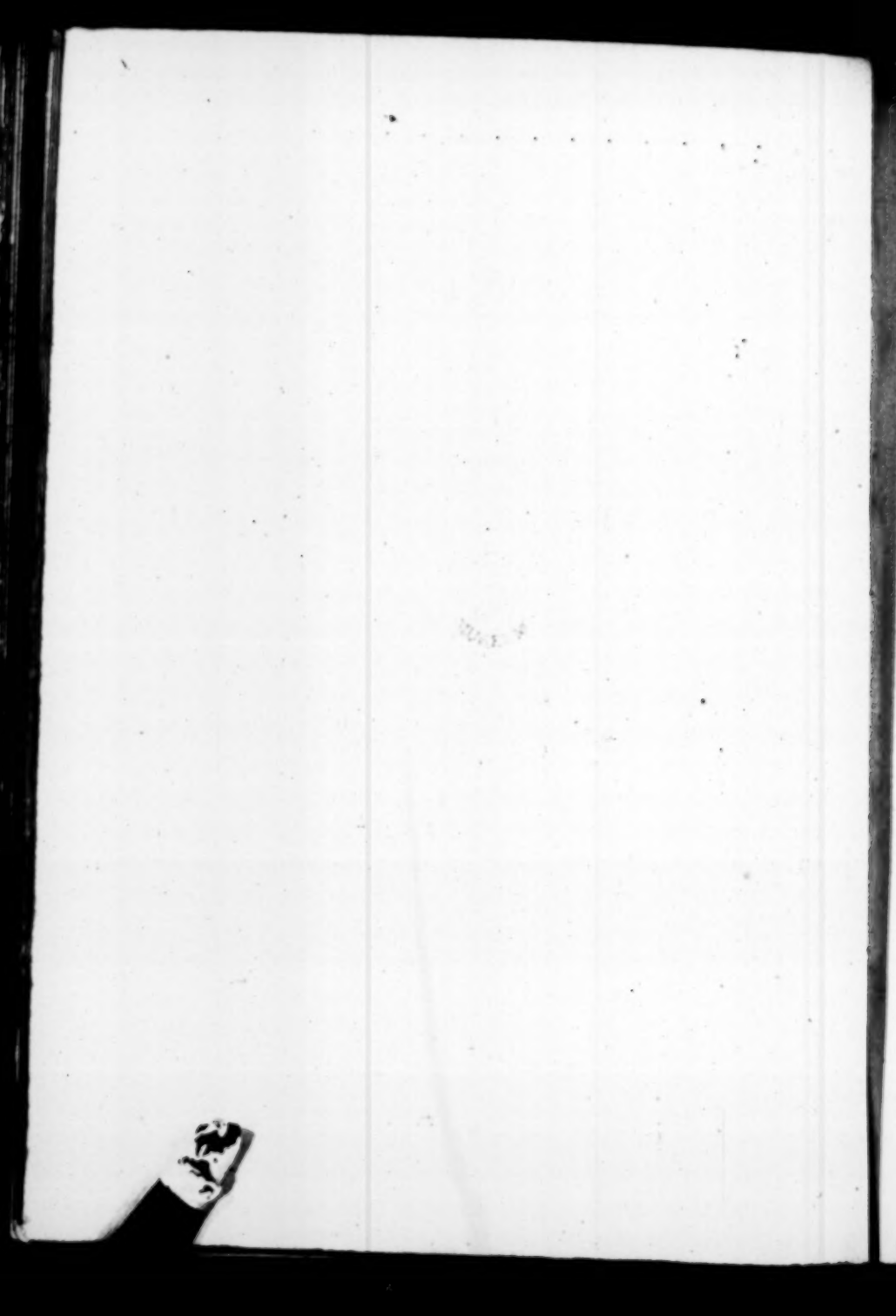


LONDON,
Printed by *E. P.* for *Nicholas Bourne*, at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1641.



To the Courteous Reader.

MY firſt aime and pretence of penning this diſcourſe, as you will finde peruſing it, was, chiefely through brevitie to allure ſome one to caſt an eye on't, who duly conſidering of what conſequence the ſubject is, might in his owne ripe judgment digeſt fully, and prevaile for the home proſecution of it, in this Honorable Court of Parliament; but perceiving it doe's extend it ſelfe both beyond my expectation and the leiſure moſt men have at preſent from each dayes weightie employment, it feares mee, I may neede ſome *Proſpective*, or ſpecious prologue to invite my Readers, and therefore to whet thy appetite I will be bould to promiſe, no more than I'le performe, that *Nunc tua res agitur*, if wealth or ſecurity of the State concerne thee, and reading of this out thou may'ſt not onely finde made good the Title, that Englands trade is Englands ſafety, but meanes ſuddenly to encreaſe the Kingdomes ſtock as much againe, for what concernes trafficking therewith, beſides the ſaving of his Majeſtie and ſubjects in their ſeverall affaires no ſmall ſummes yearly, and ſome other advantages not a little conſiderable; the Platforme of all which if thou ſee not herein delineated, the Author will bee bound to ſhow it thee, or make amends in reading twice as much of thine to as little purpoſe. Farewell.



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ENGLANDS
SAFETY IN TRADES ENCREASE.

THe principall advantage wee have over all the world beſides is thought to be our ſhipping, which with our owne materialls as yet we build at home: but if Timber continue ſtill to decreaſe, we muſt not onely bee beholding to others for it, but have no more ſhips than they will give us leave; And yet the Hollanders who have no Timber at their owne growth, doe farre ſurpaſſe us in number of ſhips, ſo that were it not for the courage of our Nation, under God, and our expertnes in Sea-fights, other Nations perhaps upon triall might at leaſt bee troubleſome to us, and that the Hollanders have ſome hopes thereof, may bee well conjectur'd by the great difficultie wee finde in prevailing with them upon all occaſions of their profit; as particularly in the fiſhing buſineſſe, the Eaſt India trade, and daily diminiſhing the Marchant Adventurers ancient priviledges in their juriſdiction to the great prejudice of this State: And if the Hollanders even in our memory thus ſprung up not without our aſſiſtance and well-wiſhes, and the French of late ſo ſtrong, both in the Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, as that we can ſcarce ſet out ſuch Fleetes as either, how much more dangerous will their puiſſance bee to our poſteritie? certainly it is conſiderable for both of them, eſpecially the Hollander is more likely, and hath better meanes ſtill to advance himſelf continually more and more hereafter, than he had at firſt to get to what he is at preſent: for it is not the large territories in the Low Countreyes, but their trafficke which doth enrich them, the firſt ground of all their ſtrength and greatneſſe; and yet their trade conſiſts onely in fiſhing on our Coaſt, manufactures and trafficking forraine commodities to and fro, which ſo much the more is by them ſtill purſued, as they daily encreaſe in ſhipping and riches.

Thus doth it too too well appeare how other States and Princes will daily grow more and more rich and powerfull, and conſequently after the ſame rate in a ſhort time of foure ſufficient to give Chackmate unto us: The onely meanes I finde able to prevent this ſhame and miſerie are two.

One by endeavouring what is poſſible that our trade may bee enlarged wherein we have advantage over all the world, as I will ſhow hereafter, and particularly by ſetting our ſelves cloſe to the fiſhimployment.

The other, in procuring that other States and Princes reſt contented to keep only ſuch a number of men of warre as may not make us with juſt cauſe ſuſpect their ſtrength and force; neither is this courſe diſſonant to reaſon, or without Preſident or preſent practiſe, for if the levying an Armie of men by a neighbouring Prince give juſt jealouſie, how much more may a Fleet of ſhips which cannot bee without men enough to make an Armie at pleaſure beſides the capacity of conducing an other where they pleaſe? And even in this matter of ſhipping & maritime forces, the States of Italie are ſo preciſe and ſtrict as that the Pope himſelfe, Kingdomes of Naples and Sicilie, Grand Duke, State of Genua and Grand-Maſter of Malta keepe onely ſo many Gallies as are limited to each by generall conſent amongſt themſelves.

But in regard the Hollanders may alledge it neceſſary for them to have continuall Fleetes at Sea to defend themſelves againſt the Spaniards, it may be as neceſſarie for us to importune the King of Spaine to make an honourable peace with them; or, if he refuſe, to joyne with the Hollanders and ſhare with them in the bootie, for if we ſit ſtill, and they goe on conquering as is like enough, the more they get, the leſſe able (if they pleaſe) ſhall we be to keep our ſelves from being conquer'd too at laſt, and living at others mercie, would at beſt bee but diſhonourable, when if wee fare well, wee muſt conne them thanks and not our ſelves: Let us not then runne a farther hazard ſubjecting our ſelves to remaine betrai'd in the end by our owne flatterie: did wee but conſider the ods wee had of other States in Sea-forces but halfe an age agoe; and now reflect upon the great Fleetes they make both in the Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, we may finde their power ſuch at Preſent, as may render them juſtly to bee ſuſpected of us hereafter, and unleſſe wee ſhow our ſelves ſole Soveraigne of the Sea, and with our Trident Scepter give lawes (whilſt we may) to all Nations there, wee muſt receive them from others, when wee cannot helpe it: Forraine Nations teach us the truth hereof alreadie by fiſhing in our Seas whether wee will or no, and the French in diſturbing our trade the laſt yeare in the Mediterranean Sea, and enacting lawes prejudiciall both to it and our Navigation, which of themſelves are able to beat us out of trade in time, and ſo much more, when Chriſtendome ſhall be at peace, by which means the trade of Spaine will be free for other Nations which at preſent as it were we Monopolize to our ſelves,

and

and our Clothiers and other Manufactors in ſwarmes flocking over into Holland to enjoy their liberties, (which God knowes how juſtly) but whether it bee true and due liberty, or only ſo ſuggeſted, it is equally dammageable to this State, ſince it cauſes their departure, and the ill conſequences enſuing thereupon: it concernes us therfore (and that ſuddenly) to prevent others by good uſage, get thoſe backe againe that are gone, or hinder the progreſſe of their art and manufacture, which elſe both may, and juſtly too, bee countermined.

And whereas it may bee inferred by what I ſaid before, that the enlarging of our trade would keep us ſtill predominant over all other States and Princes, I will ſet downe ſome few indigeſted Notions towards the producing and continuing a flouriſhing State of commerce, which if wee doe not ſeriouſly apply our ſelves unto, other States will queſtionleſſe bee too hard for us, and whatſoever trade they beate us out of and engroſſe into their owne hands, will feede us with a bit and a blow, making us pay for it what they pleaſe, which will not only impoveriſh us, but ruine our Navigation, and ſubject us to become a prey at pleaſure.

Briefly then the trafficke of England may be divided into Inland, and Maritime.

Inland is that which is practiſed from one towne or place unto an other within the Countrey, and by

Maritime I meane ſuch as is uſed from any part of England beyond the Seas, which later is chiefely to be enlarged three manner of wayes, by Exportation, Importation, and Tranſportation.

1. By Exportation and venting our Native Commodities, as Lead, Tin, Waxe, or ſuch others, as have little or no workemanſhip, but chiefely thoſe that require and ſet a worke our Manufactures, as died and dreſſed Cloth, Perpetuana's, Sayes, Serges, and the like.

2. By importation of forraine commodities which wee any wiſe ſtand in need of, as Wines, Sugars, linnens, wrought ſilkes, but eſpecially ſuch as imploy the poore in manufactures, as Cotton Wools, raw Silke, and all ſuch ſundry materialls as advance our Navigation, Proviſions of all ſorts, and Ammunition.

3. By Tranſporting forraine commodities, either directly from one forraine Countrey to another, or bringing them firſt for any part of England, and afterwards carrying them out againe for ſuch Countreyes, and at ſuch times as occaſion ſhall require.

In all which reſpects England may have advantage of all the World beſides, by reaſon of her ſituation ſurrounded by the Sea, her Inhabi-

tants populous for Manufactures, skilfull in Navigation, and unparalleld for ſafeties, her ſuperfluitie of ſundry commodities to furniſh moſt Nations that ſtand in need of them, and laſtly her Fiſhing, than which nothing is ſo peculiar to her, a treaſure equall to that of both Indies in the richneſſe, conſequence and circumſtances of it, in ſo much that if wee bee but ſure to practiſe this, all other trades will follow, as I may ſay, of their owne accord, one, as it were, begetting another; for our Fiſh, Cloth, and other Woollen goods, Tin, Lead, Calfe-skins, Waxe, &c. doe not only furniſh us with ſuch forraine commodities as wee our ſelves want, but beſides large returnes in money, may ſtore us with quantities of all ſorts to ſupply other Nations; And though as I ſaid, if our fiſhing and Cloathing bee but lookt to, our trading both Inland and Maritime will continually encreaſe, yet it may likely bee much furniſhed, and brought ſooner to perfection, if all theſe ſeventeene particulars bee obſerved.

1. By granting priviledges to ſundry Townes and places, eſpecially Sea-Townes moſt commodiouſly ſituated for fiſhing Traffike and Navigation.

2. By bringing intereſt downe to 6. *per* 100. at moſt.

3. By lighting of the cuſtomes eſpecially of goods exported.

4 By cheriſhing and furthering our ſeverall Plantations in Virginia, Bermudus, Saint Lawrence, Saint Chriſtophers and elſewhere, eſpecially perſwading to inhabit and fortifie, ſo farre as may bee requiſite, the Banke of New-found Land where we catch that fiſh.

5. By uſing all poſſible meanes for proſecuting and advancing the Fiſhing imployment in generall.

6. By ſetling ſtricter orders for overſeeing and ſealing cloth, and all ſorts of Woollen goods.

7. By encouraging new manufactures with immunities and priviledges.

8. By free exporting of forraine commodities with little or no Cuſtome, which will make England the Emporium of all other Countreyes.

9. By his Majeſties protecting the Eaſt India Companie, whereby they may regaine that trade, and ſettle another in Perſia if poſſible.

10. By conſtituting a Court of Marchants, where all Marchants, and Marchantlike cauſes and differences may be ſummarily diſpeeded without appeale unleſſe by his Majeſties eſpeciall grace in caſe of palpable injuſtice.

11. By erecting of a Banke where payments may bee made by aſſignation.

12. That

12. That a courſe be taken for ſecure turning over bills of debts from one man to another.

13. That a Faire or money Mart be ſetled like that of Placentia in Italy or Lyons in France, where moneyes are drawne as by exchange and returned back againe every three moneths.

14. That Inland trade and Navigation which is carriage of goods and Marchandize within the Countrey bee facilitated and promoted.

15. That all Marchants trading for one place and Province be contracted into a Corporation.

16. That there be Commiſſioners as a peculiar and ſelect Magiſtrate of ſo many as ſhall be thought fitting to ſit weekely adviſing and conſulting for the advancement of trade and Commerce.

17. And laſtly that all Marchants have certaine immunities from being called to inferiour offices and ſervices where they live, and other priviledges of due reſpect, whereby they may bee encouraged to continue, and others to betake themſelves to ſo honourable a calling.

1. To the firſt then, which is the granting priviledges to ſundry Townes and places, eſpecially Sea Townes moſt commodiouſly ſituated for Fiſhing, trafficke and Navigation, ſince London is not onely populous enough, but likely ſtill to be much more even till its owne greatneſſe prove a burden to it, for wee ſee both houſe rent, proviſions for victualing of all ſorts, firing and other grow continually exceſſive deere, the conſumption whereof being ſo great, in ſo little a circuit, cauſes them to be fetched ſo farre off, as the very portage of ſome of them exceeds the firſt coſt, whereas if ſuch others as are likely ſtill to flocke to London if not prevented, were wonne to ſettle themſelves about Marchandizing in ſome other place or Port, theſe proviſions would be neere hand to them, and conſequently better cheape: Beſides it is no policie for a Prince or Kingdome to have ſo great a multitude, or proportion of their wealth and ſtrength in one place, how ſtrong ſoever, becauſe if peſtilence come amongſt them they infect one another; if dearth or ſcarcitie of any thing neceſſarie, they are apt to mutiny; if warres they may bee beſieged, and then ſo farre from helping, as they helpe onely to ſterve one another, and what is no leſſe conſiderable, their overballancing number and riches, were it not ſecured by the untainted loyaltie of thoſe Cittizens, and as well ordered by their good government (whereof wee have often ſeene experience) might be a temptation of ill conſequence; Wherefore to prevent this, as alſo not to venture all wee have, or ſo great a

part of it at one ſtroke, and diſperſe and multiply trade throughout the whole Kingdome, it may be requiſite to endow ſome Sea Townes, eſpecially with ſundry priviledges and immunities; but firſt they muſt be ſituate where they may have all proviſions cheape, and advance ſomewhat thereby of what they would have ſpent in London; then they ſhould bee ſuch as have ſecure Ports and Roades capable to receive and harbour ſhips of all burthens; next it is neceſſary they bee forth'd with ſtrong walls and ditches, if a Caſtle bee not thought ſufficient to protect the Inhabitants, and people of all ſorts encouraged to dwell there by ſuch meanes as may beſt prevaile with them: as firſt by a free trade to pay little or no cuſtome, eſpecially for goods outward, or ſuch inward as are to bee againe exported; then if need require they may be furniſhed with houſe-rent free for ſome yeares, and hopefull men of good report, who living there ſo far off, will perhaps finde no credit, with moneyed men in London ſhould be accommodated with competent ſummes at a low intereſt of about 4. *per* 100. for where men have moneys, they will continually be plodding how to imploy them beſt, and ſo make new diſcoveries in trade to the future inriching of Prince and Countrey together with themſelves. And whereas at preſent all England, at leaſt Scotland and Ireland for the moſt part are furniſhed with forraine commodities brought firſt to London, then will theſe ſundry new Townes and Staples of trade as they encreaſe, not only bee able to provide themſelves, but the Country alſo that lies neere them with the ſame at better rates, and yet prejudice London very little, becauſe, as I conceive, the greateſt part of that Countrey, and ſuch as come to inhabit there, made ſhift before to live without them, moſt whereof were more ſuperfluous than neceſſary; and were it onely to make theſe new Townes of Staple Magazines and Warehouſes of Corne, Wine, Salt, Fiſh, Flaxe, Cotton Wooll, Tobacco and other forraine commodities, to furniſh our Northerly neighbouring Nations, we may compaſſe it with the ſame advantage which others doe and better, if wee uſe but the ſame policie, following our fiſhing, and providing for our ſhipping.

2. The ſecond way to enlarge trade is by bringing downe intereſt to 6. *per* 100. at leaſt, for Intereſt is the rule by which wee buy, ſell, and governe our ſelves when wee are to imploy our moneys both in building, planting, trading, &c. as thus: A Marchant buying a commoditie to ſend abroad or bring for England, calculates what it coſts, and what it is likely afterwards to ſell for, & finding it may produce 8. or 10 *per* 100. concludes this is more profitable than intereſt,

and

and therfore reſolves not to put out his money at uſe, but imploy it in trade, & having no money of his own, is contented to borrow, becauſe he perceives he may likely advance by this imployment to pay the uſe, and reſerve a convenient profit for his paines, which certainly would not ſucceed ſo often if Intereſt ran higher, for if that bee a more profitable and ſecure way of thriving, ſuch as have moneys will decline trade, and put it out to uſe, and thoſe that have none, either quite forbeare to borrow, or undoe themſelves with intereſt at ſo high a rate: Neither can any thing materially bee objected againſt this bringing downe of intereſt, ſave that ſtrangers will not ſend their moneys hither to be put out at ſo low a rate and ſo abridge the trade, but to this may well be anſwered, it were good they brought none at all, being better to have a little trade with a greater profit to bee divided amongſt our ſelves, than a larger trade with leſſe benefit on it, and that chiefely to goe to ſtrangers.

But for our owne uſurers, whereas it is ordinarily alledg'd how this courſe would make them call in their moneys and buy lands, it is as eaſily anſwered, how all the land in England is bought already, and if any one that hath boughtreſolve to ſell againe, ſurely it is not with intention to keepe the money by him in a cheſt without fructifying, ſo that let whoſe will buy or ſell land, be the intereſt brought downe to what rate ſoever, our money'd men will not long be ſullen, but ſo much money as is in England will bee traded with by thoſe that owe it, or put out at intereſt at five or ſix *per* 100. when men muſt give no more for it, ſince *dulcis odor lucri*, ſomething hath ſome ſavour.

But true it is that land will bee the deerer for it, and perhaps at firſt Corne, Wools and all kinde of victualing and manufactures the like, which if it bee granted, I hope wee ſhould in concluſion finde no worſe effect than that Husbandmen would hereby be brought to a frugall dyet, or ſtirr'd up to become more induſtrious ſetting their wits and hands a worke for improving of the ſoile, wherein queſtionleſſe they come ſhort of other Nations, and might thereby well advance in the great encreaſe of yearely fruits whenſoever their Farmes come to bee enhanc'd; And yet me thinks in ſaying if landes be improv'd to thirty yeares purchaſe, Corne, Wools, &c. will riſe accordingly, there is a fallacie which captivates many mens underſtanding, for ſurely hee cannot be juſtly ſaid to buy land at thirty yeares purchaſe, who racking the rent of what it was before ſqueeſes his Farmers after the rate of twenty yeares, which if the Land-lord do not, the Tenant will have no cauſe to demand deerer for his Corne,

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Woolł &c. and impoſſibie it is that Land ſhould riſe unleſſe intereſt money fall; for whereas it may bee objected the ſcarcitie or ſtore of money will raiſe or bring downe Land, it is by no other meanes than rayſing, or bringing downe intereſt firſt: and beſides the Farmers upon all occaſion are likelier to diſcharge a rackrent by multiplying the fruits thereof through induſtry, than raiſing of the price, for that would onely teach us to be furniſh'd from abroad, which if wee cannot doe as well as other Nations it were pitty but wee wanted; Spaine, Portingall and Holland, have very little Corne of their owne ſowing, and yet eate as much bread as we doe; the Hollander hath no Sheepe to ſheare, and yet makes cloath as good cheape as England, ſo that if wee cannot enjoy the advantages we have above them, let us at leaſt be contented to far as they doe, and bring downe intereſt to the ſame termes, whereby trade may floriſh as it doth with them. And if trade bee but encouraged by giving priviledges to our decay'd fiſhing Townes, and practiſing what is propoſed here following, I ſuppoſe it may appeare there will not only bee ſuddenly found money enough to drive the preſent trade, but that wee are farther capable to become the wealthieſt Nation in all the World. And whereas I made tranſportation, which is the furniſhing of other Nations with forraine commodities, the third meanes of enlarging maritime trade, unleſſe we can have moneys here at intereſt as cheape as forraigne Nations, or elſe advance ſome other way what wee pay more than they doe for uſe money, they will keepe us from that trade and the benefit of it, for if they can underſell us three or foure *per* 100 which is a competent gaine for a halfe yeares imployment, wee may be ſure not to thrive amongſt them, but deſert a project ſo advantagious as the Hollanders have not ſuch another to live upon; and to conclude this point, ſince the lawfulneſſe of putting money out at intereſt is ſo much controverted, it might be no ſmall motive to us at leaſt to put the uſe of it at a lower rate.

3. The third conſideration was lightning of our Cuſtomes, in impoſing whereof heretofore perhaps the chiefe aime and intention ſometimes was to increaſe his Majeſties revenues, but ſpeciall care ought to be had therein by lightning our native commodities which will cauſe a greater exportation of them, and charging it on the forraine which will hinder their importation, and yet they too ſelectively not all alike; and here it is worth remembrance that a great part of forraine commodities brought for England are taken in barter of ours, and we ſhould not have vented ours in ſo great quantity without taking theirs, for wee muſt not expect to bring away all

their

their moneys, and our commodities not much more neceſſary to them than theirs to us: but Cotton woolls, Gregraine yarne, Gold and Silver-thrid or Wire, raw Silke and ſuch others which with us are imployed in ſundry Fabrickes and Manufactures ſetting our poore people a worke ſhould bee lightly charged, eſpecially for ſuch a quantity of thoſe manufactures as are againe exported: But Sattins, Taffeties, Velvets and ſuch others as have their full workemanſhip abroad ſhould bee well charged, which hindring them to be brought in in ſuch abundance, would imploy our owne people in making the ſame ſorts at home, but this muſt bee done with caution, and by degrees inſenſibly, leaſt it become countermined: And though this may ſeeme, or doe leſſen the Kings Cuſtomes for the preſent, it will after be recover'd againe infallibly encreaſing trade, and a little Cuſtome upon a great trade is equivalent to a great cuſtome on a little trade, and the people employed and multiply'd to boote which are both the ſtrength and riches of a Kingdome, and yet other meanes (if need be) may be thought upon to countervaile this leſſening the Kings revenues in the interim. Proviſions of victualls, eſpecially corne, Butter, Cheeſe, which are the poore mans food, who hardly advances more than will cloath and feed him at ordinary rates, ſhould be free of all ſuch charges; Wine perhaps may deſervedly pay good cuſtome, ſince wee may bee without it, at leaſt the abuſe is great in ſo great conſumption of it, and a heavie cuſtome may hinder the importation thereof in part, but the Subject will ſtill be the more deceived in it, unleſſe it bee ſeverely prohibited for Vintners or others to mingle and ſophiſticate it, or ſell one ſort for another, by which meanes notwithſtanding the greater cuſtomes, they may put a lower price on it to intice their Cuſtomers.

To charge Jewells as Diamonds, Pearles, Rubies and ſuch like ſuperfluous ornaments with great cuſtomes, would ſcarce hinder the importation, for ſince the cuſtome may be ſtollen with ſo much eaſe, many would be tempted thereunto, deſiring to advance no more than the ſtolne cuſtome, and to ſearch mens pockets and their breeches exactly (for otherwiſe as good no ſearch at all) may perhaps bee thought againſt the liberties of this Nation, I am ſure much contrary to their humour. Beſides Jewells are wealth and riches in a Kingdome and conſequently good credit to it, which though, if they were ſo much money, might be imploy'd better and improved, yet certainly they are a treaſure, and in caſe of neceſſity may ſted a Kingdome, and will only abound after that a Kingdome aboundeth with wealth

and money, the ſuperfluitie whereof is onely converted into Jewells, and ſuch other riotous expences.

And whereas ſundry Statutes have formerly beene alledged for rating both native and forraigne commodities, now that wee are in time of Parliament which hath power to make new or repeale the old, mee thinks we need not ſo much oblige our ſelves to what paſſed heretofore in this behalfe, as to examine whether there bee the ſame reaſon for rating this or that commoditie, and encreaſe or pull down the cuſtomes accordingly: wherein two things may well bee aymed at; firſt the raiſing a revenue to the King, and ſecondly to produce a flouriſhing ſtate of traffike to the Kingdome, and as the former muſt not bee forgot, ſo may the latter bee found of ſuch neceſſitie as that without it both King and Kingdome ere long will come far ſhort of the revenues and abundance which hitherto they enjoyed; wherefore our drift muſt primarily be to enlarge trade.

Since then two Nations carrying cloth or any other wares unto a market, the beſt cheape will out of doubt ſell ſooneſt and thereby eate the other out of trade; and in regard a neceſſitie lyes upon us to finde out vent and iſſue for our ſeverall manufactures and commodities whereby the poore people may continually be kept a worke, if this be not to be compaſſed by ſelling cheaper than hitherto we have done, & that Marchants cannot poſſibly ſell cheaper unleſſe they be eaſed in the cuſtomes, certainely there may ariſe not onely a conveniencie, but a peremptorie neceſſitie that it bee ſo for preventing greater miſchiefe.

Wherefore when ſetling the booke of rates be ſeriouſly conſidered of and weighed, it may in all likelihood appeare that ſome native commodities and manufactures will juſtly require the freedome of all cuſtomes and ſuch like charges, and others eſpecially forraigne for as good reaſon to be charged double, whereof if one ballance the other, the revenue will bee the ſame as formerly, beſides the encreaſe in generall which will undoubtedly attend a well ordered State and Goverment of trade; but if by this meanes the wonted revenue ſhould for the preſent be impayred, that may be raiſed by multiplicitie of other, meanes, each wherof would be leſſe burthenſome or dammageable to the Body Politike, than any courſe how plauſible ſoever, which proves an obſtacle to trades enlargement: wherefore I muſt crave leave to preſſe this farther, and ſay I ſuppoſe there will be found upon due enquirie, neceſſitie of freeing broad cloath and ſome other Woollen manufactures from all or the greateſt part of cuſtomes unleſſe

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wee can keepe other Nations from making the ſame ſorts, or be contented the vent of ours ſhould continually decreaſe, untill we be quite beaten out of it by forraigne Nations, who could not thrive ſo well therein, unleſſe they had been able to underſell us, I wiſh therefore it may be throughly thought on and in due time prevented.

Yet for the decay of our Woollen Staple in ſome Countreyes wee cannot remedie it by withdrawing our cuſtomes and other charges, unleſſe we prevaile with thoſe ſtates that they not only not impoſe new duties, but pull off ſuch as are of latter times impoſed contrarie to our ancient priviledges in their juriſdiction, and the Royall treaties and capitulations on Our States behalfe with Theirs reſpectively, wherein if I ſhould particularize, it would appeare very notorious how in ſome Countreyes our cloath and other commodities have exceedingly beene burthened, purpoſely to keepe us from bringing them thither, and encreaſing the manufacture thereof amongſt themſelves, which ſucceedes ſo well with them, as if wee bee but a little longer contented with it, for what concernes redreſſe, we may for ever after hold our peace.

Yet if ſuch advantages may be layde holde of betweene States and Princes in amitie and alliance, and wee as ready to practiſe them as they, perhaps others might be glad to beginne a *Palinodia*.

Would the Hollanders take it kindly that wee forbid them fiſhing on our Coaſt and drying their netts on our ſhoare? would thoſe of Brabant, Flanders, &c. to whom reciprocall trade and intercourſe is of greater conſequence like well it were withdrawne? can France drinke all the wine ſhe makes, or heare willingly a bill of baniſhment againſt her babies and ſuch like toyes for exporting no little ſummes of golde and ſilver yearely? If wee prohibite the importation of Currance but a yeare onely which coſts us 70 m. pounds Starling ready money, would not the State of Venice ſee wee can better live without them, than their ſubjects of Zante and Zafalonia without bread, or eate currance in lieu of bread? and yet poore people! they have no other ſhift; ſurely then if wee knew our own ſtrength, they might well bee induced to let us have them upon moderate conditions without multiplying the cuſtome and other duties in ſuch prodigious manner as now they come to exceed the very coſt and principall it ſelfe: We have not five thouſand pounds worth of trade with them in a yeare beſides theſe currance ſo dammageable to our ſelves, and for our friendſhip, however they regard it, it is of good conſequence to them, in that the greateſt part of their woolls from Spaine, and the reſt from

Conſtantinople is moſt commonly brought in Engliſh ſhipping, which if they come ſhort of, our own cloth may find ſo much more vent in Barbarie and Turkie; I purpoſely forbeare to enter upon others, theſe few will evidently demonſtrate our abilities to play with other Nations at their owne weapons, if wee bee provoked thereto.

But ſome commodities there are which ſhould not be reported neither with, nor without Cuſtomes ſaving upon mature deliberation, as Ammunition of all ſorts, Timber, cordage, Pitch, and all other materialls of ſhipping and Navigation, which may in time offend our ſelves; yet when wee have advance, and it is probable our Neighbours (nay very enemies) will have them from other parts, then had wee beſt ſerve them, and get the benefit thereof, whereas otherwiſe they will through neceſſity ſeeke out and bee able to provide themſelves elſewhere, wee looſing what wee might ſecurely have advanced, and perhaps be farther prejudiced in the conſequences thereof: As in the tranſportation of Iron Ordnance whereof wee might have furniſhed all the world, but holding them at ſo high a rate taught the Germans, Danes, and Swedes, to finde meanes and make them better cheape at home to this Kingdomes dammage above 20 m. l' *per annum* beſides the imployment of ſo many people. And certainly there are Offices which in Chriſtianity wee owe to our very enemies, much more our Chriſtian neighbours, and Proteſtants moſt of all (which makes mee wiſh even with zeale and fervencie the Hollanders proceedings and carriage towards us were ſuch as might not make them jealous of us in this or any other reſpect) the omiſſion whereof in us God Almighty knowes how to puniſh even with *Lex talionis* if hee pleaſe; yet I thinke we are not the only ſinners in this kinde conceaving that Nation uſes their utmoſt art againſt us and all the world beſides in this reſpect, the French having likewiſe of late yeares much encroach'd herein: And it is remarkeable how our Tin not long ſince being raiſed from Duckets 16. to Duckets 26. in Legorne, and other forraine parts proportionably, a mine of Tin is lately found in Barbarie from whence quantity being brought for Italy hath pull'd the price of ours back-againe to about Duckets 16. as it was heretofore, and may perhaps finde the way to France, Turkie, and other Countreyes too hereafter.

And in furniſhing our enemies with proviſions and ammunition defenſive or offenſive me thinks there is a policie not a little conſiderable, in that they being fitted from time to time by us at a moderate

rate price makes them live ſecurely and ſeeke no farther, expecting to have it brought unto them according to their cuſtome, in which caſe if for our advantage at any time wee have juſt cauſe to denie it them, it is very likely we may ſupprize them on a ſudden before others not being uſed thereto can bring it them, or they perhaps bee able to provide themſelves elſewhere.

4 The fourth meanes is by increaſing and improving our new Plantations in the Weſterne Ilands and encouraging to others; this is a matter of exceeding great moment enlarging both our Dominions and our Traffike; if people of good report and ranke could be prevailed upon by immunities and priviledges to bee the firſt Inhabitants in any new diſcoverie, certainly the buſineſſe through their orderly and good government might ſucceede more proſperouſly, but for want of ſuch it were farre better there were power and authority given to take up all beggars both men and women throughout theſe Kingdomes and ſend them for ſome of the new Plantations, all delinquents for matters which deſerve not hanging, might bee ſerved ſo too without ſparing one of them, and all ſuch perſons in the meane time bee kept in houſes for the ſame purpoſe, and forced to worke or ſtarve, untill the time of the yeare and ſhips were ready to carry them away; and as theſe might likely doe better there, betaking themſelves to get a living, ſo ſhould wee not onely free the ſtreetes and countrey of ſuch raſcals and vagrant people that ſwarme up and downe at preſent; but prevent many others, ſome whereof are ſucceſſively borne and bred ſo, the reſt brought to the ſame begging laſie life by their ill example, and a great ſumme of money ſaved, which uſes yearely to bee given to ſuch vagabonds to no purpoſe but to make them worſe through the encouragement they have to continue ſo by our miſled charity and daily almes.

But of all other Plantations that of Newfound Land may deſerve to be furthered, not only in regard of the fertilitie of the Iland reported to bee great, but alſo for the more ſecure and commodious proſecution of our fiſhing trade on thoſe banks, in which imployment a dozen of men only in a few moneths time are able to improve their labour to farre greater advantage, than by a whole yeares toile in tilling of the ground or any handicrafts myſterie whatſoever: and this leades me to

5. The Fiſhing trade upon our owne Coaſts the fifth meanes of enlarging commerce, and of ſuch great importance as that upon due conſideration, if any chance, bee found not onely the Grand but ſole

meanes of our future commerce and propriety: for however of late ages, and even at preſent, we are of conſiderable ſtrength and credit to all the world for cloathing ſo many of them with our Wollen commodities, yet if we conſider ſeriouſly thereof, and ſee wee cannot at preſent vent in Germanie and the Low Countreyes, one third part of what wee uſed in former times, being beaten out of it by their ſubtilty and induſtrie in making the ſame themſelves, wee may perhaps deſervedly have cauſe to feare that our Woollen Staple, and Manufacture eſpecially, will by degrees wheele away from us in that viciſſitude whereto wee finde all other ſublunarie States and things obnoxious: And though as it were to recompence thoſe loſſes and encourage our farther endeavours, Divine Providence hath diſcovered us how to utter a conſiderable quantity of cloth (though not anſwerable to the decay in Germanie and the Low Countreyes) for Turkie and Muſcovia, yet for the latter wee are ſcarce likely to enjoy it long, the Hollanders ſerving the ſame market with our owne Cloth carried thither from Hamborough upon bettertermes than wee can, which might perhaps be prevented by putting a greater charge and cuſtome on ſuch ſorts of Cloth ſent for thoſe parts, which are not ſpent there, but carried for Muſcovia or Barbarie, were it not that hereafter they will likely be able to make the Cloth themſelves, and ſo debarre us totally; But for Turkie, whereas ſome few latter yeares wee have ſent above 20m. Clothes died and dreſſed, it is certaine we cannot continue the trade in the future with any profit for above halfe that quantity, eſpecially ſince wee muſt likely forbeare thoſe Countrey Cotton-Woolls which uſed to furniſh us for returnes, being now ſerved with better cheape of our owne plantation in the Weſterne Ilands.

But for my part, I ſhall not thinke our ſelves ſecure of any trade or ought wee have, which the craft or power of Neighbouring Nations ſhall any wayes bee able to beguile us of, and therefore moſt earneſtly doe wiſh, wee may, whil'ſt that we may, endeavour to eſtabliſh our ſecurity and trade upon our owne foundation, and that muſt bee our fiſh imployment, able to beget and draw after it all trade beſides, being the Schoole and Nurſerie of Marriners and Navigation, and briefely a Treaſure more rich, and in ſundry reſpects to be preferred before the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, whoſe ſtore with Gods bleſſing will continually encreaſe as often as the Moone, whoſe influence ſo much predominats thoſe Creatures, and though another Kingdome of fiſh ſhould bee diſcovered, ſuch Nations as are ſituated neere us, will bee neceſſitated to feed on ours: What pittie is it then that ſo

many

many fiſhing Townes alongſt our Coaſt ſhould bee decay'd, nay what ignominie and bad goverment to pay and maintaine Strangers for taking of our owne fiſh? Certainely if ever wilfulneſſe or negligence of not improving a Talent in this World bee puniſhed hereafter, ours will bee inexcuſable; My purpoſe is not to enlarge ſince others are better able, and I cannot ſo muchas think ſeriouſly thereof without a profound diſturbance and vexation to my ſelfe, whil'ſt I revolve in my mind the greateſt careleſneſſe that ever men committed, ſaving that ſome of our Predeceſſours did the like, and our ſucceſſours will doe no leſſe, for all that I can doe; and therefore had beſt deſiſt to torment my ſelfe in rayſing ſpirits, unleſſe I could againe alay them.

Wherefore I will only ſay, if wee doe not get into our owne managing the greateſt proportion of the fiſhing trade, our trafficke will not onely decline, becauſe it cannot otherwiſe bee the greateſt, and that (as the greater fiſh the leſſer) hath capacity to eate out and devoure the reſt, but the very ſinues and ſtrength of the whole Kingdome, the onely ground worke whereof is trade and commerce, will bee ſhaken and quite ruined in the end, at leaſt whatſoever State elſe ſhall enjoy it, will keep us at their mercie; and therefore if wee either want moneys, men, knowledge to catch and cure the fiſh, or ought elſe to eſtabliſh this only Pillar of our future wealth and ſafetie, let us either prevaile with other Nations by waiges and faire meanes for their aſſiſtants, or not ſuffer any of them to fiſh on our Coaſt, ſave ſuch as will come and inhabite in our Sea-Townes with their wives and families, making themſelves free Denizens and depoſiting ſuch a portion of each voyages profit in a ſecure Banke for that purpoſe which ſhall punctually pay them and their children if neede bee the intereſt, and reſtore the Principall unto their Grand-Children, who may then bee thought quite naturalized and not likely to depart the Kingdome, or elſe ſuch Boates whoſe men unwilling to dwell amongſt us may bee permitted to fiſh, ſo they take halfe Engliſh marriners and Adventurers in the voyage of whoſe returne for England we are alſo to be ſecured.

And ſince our Soveraingrty on the Seas is ſo evident, and the pollicie of State for our ſecurity permits us not longer to neglect it, mee thinks our neighbouring States and Princes ſhould not interpret amiſſe, if they refuſing theſe or the like offers (without which hereafter we ſhall not poſſibly be able to continue and maintaine our juriſdiction) we doe with utmoſt rigour totally forbid them fiſhing; for even in this extremitie it will moſt evidently appeare unto an equall Judge, that what wee doe is only to ſecure our ſelves and Kingdomes;

For

For as upon the Continent the Armie that commands the Field roves where it pleaſes forcing the whole Countrey to contributions; ſo doth a Fleet at Sea and Seacoaſt much more ſpeedily & powerfully offending and commanding thoſe Kingdomes by Sea in one moneth, which the moſt puiſſant Armie is not able to march through in a whole yeare: & that the fiſhing trade (ſince it encreaſes ſhipping marriners & brings home in returne to them that follow it, money and all ſort of wares for a greater valley than al the trade of England does beſides) wil eſtate whoſoever followes it in this Prerogative, is undeniable amongſt ſuch as know the wealth and conſequents of it: Beſides although both French and Hollanders ſo long as they are countenanced by us, may in likelyhood prevaile againſt the Spaniard, his forces being ſo much diſperſed amongſt his other enemies, yet what they get is ſo much advantage as may bee uſed againſt our ſelves in time, and if the latter chance but to looſe an Armie and we either unprepared or unwilling to aſſiſt them, then is their whole Countrey endangered, which being narrow will bee runne over and plundered whilſt they ſtand amaz'd at their Armies overthrow, and their multitude of people encreaſing onely ſo much more one anothers diſtraction, will but further their owne confuſion, which in their ſhipping will afterwards bee brought home to us, unleſſe wee doe prevent it by enabling our ſelves to contraſt with all the world beſides at Sea, in which ſoveraignty the fiſhing of Herrings King of (men as well as) fiſh, is onely powerfull to maintaine us.

And yet before I leave this point I will be bold to adde there is no courſe ſo eaſily to bee taken without offending of our Neighbours that will infallibly in ſome proportion ſecure us of the fiſhing as by exactly requiring (not by halves as hitherto) the ſtrict keeping Lent and two fiſh dayes a week at leaſt throughout all three Kingdomes, and beſides increaſe our Cattell no little policie, eſpecially at preſent to bee practiſed, for multiplying (Fiſhermen I would willingly) as the caſe ſtands, receive this pennance from Popery, and thinke to merit more of the whole ſtate, than by all their works of ſupererogation.

And for ſuch as object the unwholeſomneſſe of a fiſh dyet, if this were the greateſt diſorder they committed, I believe they would have more health and Phyſicians fewer fees, there being (although more delicacie yet) leſſe gluttonie and ſurfetting in fiſh than fleſh, and I hope it will not be found injuſtice in the State upon occaſion of ſuch conſequence to regulate our appetites, which wee our ſelves neglect to the prejudice of our health in particular, and endammaging the commonwealth in generall.

The

The decay of trade is in every bodyes mouth from the Sheepe-ſheater to the Marchant, and even a weak Statiſt, without *Galilæos* proſpective glaſſe, may ſee both our wealth and ſafetie therewith declining, and if this greateſt miſchiefe no leſſe than the ruine of a Kingdome may as eaſily be prevented, ſhall wee with *Naaman* over-ſlip the benefit because the meanes are facil.? And not regard one crying out to Englang, *Fiſh and be rich and powerfull*, becauſe fiſhing is ſo frequent a recreation? I know full well this fiſhing imployment hath ſundry times beene attempted not without great loſſe, and yet am altogether as confident the ill ſucceſſe ſucceeded from the managing and bad goverment thereof to bee made appeare upon due enquirie: Firſt, becauſe our men are as good Marriners, altogether as well able to brooke the Sea, endure the toile, fare as hardly, and capeable of attaining to the knowledge as any Nation whatſoever: Secondly, We may have boates and all ſorts of veſſells, Nets and other inſtruments as cheape and fit for the purpoſe as any can bee made: Thirdly, our Sea-townes are ſittuated more commodious and neere unto the places where the fiſh is taken, ſo that whereas other Nations ſpend time and charge to goe towards the frie, that may bee ſaid to come to us; for all which reſpects, or ſome of them wee may infallibly bee enabled after a while to take and ſell fiſh better cheape than other Nations, and if all wayes elſe doe faile to proſecute this deſigne, I ſhall be ready (when commanded) to propound one that will not. 2 *Kin.* 5. 11, 12, 13.

6. The ſixt is the reſtoring of our Woollen Staple, and this muſt bee by ſeeking to export the greateſt quantity wee can of Woollen goods dyed and dreſſed in their full manufacture, as alſo by ſetling ſuch a courſe as the Officers who are only to ſeale the cloath if it hold in length, breadth, good ſpinning &c. may not paſſe it over ſo careleſly more regarding their fees than the care belonging to their Office.

For the firſt, I know the enterprize was made many yeares ſince in ſeeking to ſend nothing but dyed and dreſſed Cloth into Germany and the Low-Countreyes, and how prejudiciall it proved to us in teaching them to make cloth of their owne, rather than bee ſo ſtinted by us, and ſince chiefely in Holland by impoſing dayly new taxes and cuſtomes upon all our Cloth ſpent there both white and cullour'd, but if at that time in a quiet way wee had onely taken the Cuſtome and charge off from the Cullour'd and by degrees put it upon the white ſtill rayſing it inſenſibly, it might in all probability have done the feate, the cheape collour'd beating the deere white Cloth quite

out of ſervice, and for preſent wee can onely make this uſe of it, that unleſſe wee give out Cloth both white and colour'd at cheaper rates than they make theirs of the ſame goodneſſe, wee muſt looke quite to looſe the trade.

But for the ſcarchers of the Cloath that it bee compleat in all the perquiſites, mee thinks it might well be compaſſed; and it is of great conſequence, for the Marchants here in England who deale for great ſummes and quantities cannot looke ſo preciſely on every Cloth, examining of it end for end, and when it comes beyond ſea hee that buyes it can only ſee the muſter and the outſide, receiving the greateſt part of it upon truſt and publique faith which Marchants deale more in than for readie money, and afterwards perhaps it may bee ſent hundreds of miles farther before it bee opened, or the defects knowne untill it come to bee meaſur'd out; Wherefore this charge and care of ſearching and ſealing all Woollen goods may very well bee intruſted to the next towne where the cloth is made, and they imploying whome they pleaſe to receive the benefit, for their behooſe, may bee obliged to utmoſt dammages and penalties upon every overſight therein committed.

And for Fullers-earth, Woolls or any other materialls which conduce to cloathing wee muſt not onely forbeare to carry them our ſelves, but hinder others what we can from doing ſo.

7. The ſeventh is the encouragement of all manufactures at preſent practiſed in England, and bringing in of new, which is of wonderfull conſequence and benefit eſpecially to a populous commonwealth, in regard it ſets multitudes of poore people a worke, who thereby maintaine their wives and families in good order, which otherwiſe might bee burdenſome, and perhaps ſtarve. Theſe manufactures are one maine cauſe hath made the Hollanders ſo numerous and brought them to this greatneſſe, wherefore in imitation of them wee ought to cheriſh all thoſe that are already ſetled, as Weavers of Woollen and Silke ſtuffes, Weavers and Knitters of Silke and Woollen ſtockins, with which latter a pretty trade hath formerly beene driven but almoſt quite declined ſince our laſt warre with Spaine, during which time through want of ours, they began to make them in the Countrey improving it ever ſince and thereby with the great cuſtomes upon ours at home bereaved us of that trade; ſo as when wee looſe one, if wee bee not ingenious to get another inſteed thereof, wee ſhall bee ſtript of all at laſt: The very varying and new fangling of manufactures is conſiderable, cauſing them to finde

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vent both at home & abroad as they happen to pleaſe the fancie of thoſe Nations to which wee ſend them; and if ſuch as ſet their wits a work herein were taken notice of, and rewarded by ſuch a commiſſion or peculiar ſtanding Magiſtrate who ſhould have the ſuperintendencie over all trade and trafficke many would likely be encouraged by the credit of it, but gaine would provoke all; And the ſame Magiſtrate to puniſh all abuſes in manufactures of what ſort ſoever either in perſonall or penall mulcts $\frac{1}{3}$ whereof to go unto the King, $\frac{1}{3}$ unto the Magiſtrate and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Informer, who if he ſo deſire, is to be concealed.

Weavers then of all ſorts of linnen both fine and courſe are to bee invited out of France, and the Low-Countreyes, and Walloones and other French, both for making of lighter and finer ſorts of Wollen ſtuffes, and are generally farre more ingenious for inventing of Laces, Buttons, and what elſe is deem'd requiſite to the accompliſh't apparelling (ſo thought at preſent) *à la mode*, wherein all Europe ſpeake true French though not the ſame Dialect, for where all uſe not the ſelfe ſame faſhion, yet they varie theirs as much as French: but theſe Laces and Buttons may perhaps onely helpe to encreaſe our owne expences at home, and are ſcarce likely to grow exportable into forraine Countreyes, where our Woollen commodities are chiefely requeſted becauſe good cheape.

The multiplying of ſalt, but chiefely making it with ſalt water deſerves likewiſe particularly to bee continued and cheriſhed, not ſo much for imploying many people, but that wee cannot well paſſe without it, being as neceſſary to us in a manner as is our meate; Our fiſh imployment cannot ſubſiſt without it, and the preſerving both of fiſh and fleſh the chiefe ſuſtenance of our long voyages and Navigation, ſo that if poſſibly it may bee compaſſed, and made in England to bee afforded hereafter when brought to full perfection at the ſame or ſomewhat a higher price, than wee uſed to bee ſerved at from abroad, queſtionleſſe it will bee good pollicie rather than expect it from others who will denie it us in greateſt neede, and wee found both unskilfull and unprovided of moſt of the materialls to furniſh us therewith; yet ſomewhat wee may pay more for this, ſince as it is ſaid the fleſh and fiſh cured with this ſalt eates more pleaſant, and beſides making it our ſelves wee ſhall not onely have it at a conſtant price which before did much varie, riſing and falling exorbitantly as more or leſſe ſtore came

from abroad, which was ſo much the more hazardous, in regard many ſhips brought it only when they could get no other imployment, thereby telling us there was no gaine in it, and wee cannot expect men will bring it us to loſſe: But the importation thereof being continually prohibited, and freedome for all to make it in the Kingdome, where and when it may bee moſt for their advantage, I conceive they may have Ware-houſes and Magazins up and downe the Countrey, to conſerve it in, and afford it all yeare long at ſuch a rate as may be for our common good and benefit. And ſurely it may ſerve us for a Maxime of direction in all ſuch like caſes: that whatſoever is neceſſary or ſo uſefull, as probably wee cannot bee well without it, wee ſhould by all meanes poſſible ſeeke to ſecure our ſelves of it within our owne juriſdiction without being ſubject to the mercie and reliefe of others in our greateſt miſerie and diſtreſſe & thus ſtanding upon our owne foundation what ere befall other parts or Countreyes of the world, we may not onely ſtill remaine the ſame amongſt our ſelves, but be Arbitrators of their welfare alſo.

The making of Cabells and all manner of cordage is likewiſe conſiderable, for which cauſe the groweth of Hempe in our Kingdomes might bee encouraged and may well hereafter bee more practized becauſe it ſets many a worke, and being ſo inſeparable to navigation with many others, which are all to be furthered by priviledges and immunities to the workemen, eſpecially the new Inventors and Promotors, and the materialls which are thus imployed in manufactures to be imported with little charge and cuſtome, to the end the Marchants and Manufactors may finde a competent gaine and make a trade of it.

By this meanes the Hollanders who have little of their owne growth to feed upon, cloath, or promote Navigation ſave butter and cheeſe, have yet ſuch ſtore and proviſion of corne, wine, fiſh, ſhipping, ammunition, and all other things neceſſary and delicious, as their owne naturall wants are not onely aboundantly ſupplyed, but ſeverall other Provinces of larger circuit than their owne repleniſhed with their ſtore to the great wonder of the world, in that they having no materialls conduceable to ſhipping can build, ſell ſhips, and let them out to fraight, cheeper than any other Nation.

8. The eight is making England the *Emporium* or Warehouſe from whence other Nations may bee furniſhed with forraine commodities of all ſorts, and this may likely have effect, if ſuch forraine

forraine wares bee not onely exported free of charge, but moſt of the duties which were pay'd at their importation bee reſtored againe, eſpecially if a Denizen brought them in, and carries them out againe, wherein the chiefe rule to governe our ſelves muſt be by ordering it in ſuch manner as that we may furniſh other Nations with them full as cheape as they can have them elſewhere, for this is a maine engine wherewith ſome people advance themſelves and hinder others.

This tranſportation and ſerving other Nations with forraine commodities is of greater benefit and conſequence to ſome States than the exportation of their owne, and yet in this wee are equally with them capable of the ſame imployment by reaſon of our ſituation, nay ſome of our Sea-Townes where theſe Magazines may be rayſed, and Marchants invited to inhabit, lie more neere ſeverall Neighbouring Provinces than they, and whereas ſome Countreyes during the Winter ſeaſon have their ſhips often kept in by ice ſome moneths together, we may from hence put out all windes and weather, and a ſhip at Sea ſeldome but advances ſomewhat towards her Port: Beſides the Hollanders having no native commodities to follow the Turkie trade, and by reaſon of the Algier Pyrates ſo much infeſting, and the Spaniards no little awing them at entring in and out the ſtraights, they are quite driven out of it, ſo that were it well ordered we might ſerve them, and the French too (bought out of the turkie trade by us in cheape ſelling of our cloth to our owne loſſe) with all manner of Turkie commodities, Cotton-Wools and ſuch others as come from our Weſterne Plantations, and upon dearth of Corne, or ſcarcity of any other thing, wee providing to furniſh other Nations, and keeping their Warehouſes as I may ſay in our Kingdome, ſhall not onely not want our ſelves, but bee furniſhed far better cheape than they and neceſſitate them to have continuall dependency upon us.

9. The ninth is the promoting of the Eaſt India Trade, which however hitherto dammageable to thoſe that followed it in particular, yet upon due ſearch and eſtimation will bee found wounderfully conſiderable, the rather becauſe thoſe Territories being ſo vaſt, farther diſcoveries of new trades might be expected dayly, as well for venting of our owne commodities as importing others at cheaper rates, if that ſociety were better countenanced at home and not ſo grievouſly diſturbed abroad, the Hollanders in policie of State have reaſon to deſire nothing

ſo much as to weary out and conſtraine them to abandon it, which unleſſe it bee prevented, wee may juſtly feare will take effect, being to be obſerved and collected by the proceeding of the *Amboina* buſineſſe that nothing will bee left unattempted, for full accompliſhing whatſoever may farther advance their ſtrength and profit.

And although at preſent the Flemmings carry little of their ſpices into the Straights, becauſe they ſell them better neerer hand, as alſo in regard the Pyrates of Algier doe oftentimes make prey of them, & ſo much raiſe the inſurance as they thrive not in the trade, yet if wee ſuffer them to beate us quite out of the Eaſt Indies, we muſt not only looſe the trade wee drive in other parts with the advance of India Commodities, and pay deere for what wee ſpend our ſelves, but when ere this come to paſſe, being then ſtored with ſpices, Callicoes, and other Eaſt India wares, enough to ſerve all Italie, Turkie, and Barbarie, which ſo ſoone as they begin to practiſe, the reſt of our trade in the Mediterranean Sea will then as faſt decline, the Hollanders cheape fraight being able of it ſelfe to eate us out in time without any other Stratagem or plot.

Wherefore there is no longer time for dallying, wee muſt whileſt wee are able make our owne lawes and conditions, ſtill keeping our ſelves ſo much more ſtronger, as no Nation may ever have power or ability to ſpurne againſt us: and for to warrant and encourage us in executing of it, we have not onely the maine ground and pollicie of the State to keep Neighbouring Nations from growing over powerfull, eſpecially ſuch as above others are more ſubtill and forward to offend us, when craftily and ſecurely to bee compaſſed; but too too juſt cauſe of revenge have wee againſt the Hollanders for their unheard of cruelties and injuries done us in the Indies, whereof we have required juſtice and reſtitution in ſo milde a manner, as taught them hitherto onely to ſleight and put us off, by which proceedings though the Eaſt india Companie being wearied out for want of the States protection and aſſiſtance ſhould bee prevailed upon to receive an inconſiderable deſpicable allowance holding no proportion with their wrongs, becauſe they can get no more at preſent, yet I hope his Majeſtie will never paſſe it over in ſuch manner, as may enbolden them to attempt the like againe: None admires their induſtrie more then may ſelfe, or deſires their good ſucceſſe, but with the ſame charity reflecting on our ſelves

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at ſome, deſire withall wee may rather bee alwayes able and willing to aide them, than ever neede, or have neceſſity to be aided by them.

But vaine it is for us to thinke or ſtudy the enlarging trade, unleſſe we proſecute the Eaſt Indian with all might and maine; for if trade muſt chiefely bee advanced by Exportation, Importation, and Tranſportion as I ſaid at firſt; That of Importation we generally exclaime againſt our ſelves, and juſtly too for being ſo great and overballancing our Exportation as is objected, that brings us ſo farre in debt, as nothing but our moneys the blood of traffike will ſatisfie; and of Exportation what can wee farther hope from it hereafter? hath not all the Cloth we vented from North to Eaſt of late yeares beene ſould to loſſe? Certainly our Marchants will make it plainely appeare they cannot live by the trade at preſent, nor yet hope to ſell at better rates in the future, unleſſe we ſend out leſſe; ſo that both Exportation and Importation muſt bee leſſened that trade may bee inlarged, although it ſeeme a Paradox: This you'le ſay is a deplorable Eſtate and yet it is ours, and we muſt make the beſt of it, or fare the worſe our ſelves.

We muſt not only bee contented but really leſſen our Importation and conſumption of forraine goods at home, nor reſt there neither, but reſolve to doe the like for Exportation ſending out leſſe Cloth hereafter, and this is not all neither, but wee muſt lade it as little as may be with cuſtomes and other charges, elſe all other Nations almoſt who have already begun to make Cloth, will be able to underſell and beate us quite out, ſo that a Maſter-peece it would bee, if poſſible, to give them ſo good cheape abroad, as others might not make to live by it, and then both our Wollen-Weavers and other manufactors that ſo unkindly left us, may happily returne againe, and ſuch as have been taught by them doe the like, through diſcontinuance become unapt, or at leaſt in time both one and other ſpin out their owne thrid too; when, and not ſooner, may we expect to ſell more quantities of cloth at better prices, which then, and not till then, may ſafely be inhanc'd, nor without due pollicie and diſcretion to prevent the like ſeverall diſaſters into which through our inconſiderate proceedings we finde our ſelves plunged at preſent: But if I (like a hard-hearted Chirurgion that unmercifully torments a Patient in ſearching and lancing of his wound, and afterwards uncharitably leaves him without applying a ſoveraigne balſome for to cure it) doe here conclude, I ſhould not only faile of my intention and pretention in this foregoing diſcourſe, which was both to demonſtrate a Poſſibilitie and meanes of trades inlargement, but be juſtly cenſurable for anticipating our miſeries, repreſenting

preſenting them all at once to the publicke view in their moſt direfull and maligne aſpect, whereas their naturall motion will onely overtake us by degrees.

Since therefore the exportation of Cloth our moſt ſtaple commodity, and importation and conſumption of forraine wares muſt be diminiſhed, to make good what I intended towards the enlarging our trafficke notwithſtanding, the remainder of our Stocke, People, and Labours, which of late heve beene imployed in making more Cloth, and bringing in more ſuperfluities than wee could well digeſt, muſt neceſſarily bee ſet a worke ſome other way, and this may not onely have effect by practiſing new manufactures, Fabrickes, and the fiſhing imployment, but alſo by tranſportation to our farre greater benefit and advantage: Now nothing can bee imagined ſo much to further tranſportation as the proſperitie of the Eaſt India trade, wherefore as it is not ſafe for us to part with any Countrey trade how ſmall ſoever, becauſe the wealth and welfare of this Kingdom may juſtly be meaſured by the Kingdomes traffick, ſo leaſt of all may we forgoe this of the Eaſt Indies, which though at preſent in vents not our native commodities in ſuch quantities as Germanie and Turkie, yet the money we ſave by furniſhing our ſelves with Spices, Callicoes and other India wares at moderate rates in great abundance, and yet ſend larger ſtore out againe to other Nations, and the good hopes and likelihood wee have to multiply this trade in all dimenſions, may render it ſo conſiderable, as that if Marchants by their former ill ſucceſſe, through the Hollanders unbrotherly proceedings, ſhould not be found to proſecute it, his Majeſtie and whole State have juſt cauſe to keepe it up though it were to loſſe at firſt, and if all meanes elſe faile, moneyes levied for maintayning it, cannot bee ſo grievous and prejudiciall to theſe Kingdomes, as the loſſe of it would likely bring poverty and ruine on them in the end.

For though the preſent Companie being diſſolved, it is like enough that many particular Marchants will adventure by themſelves, for what will they not adventure? yet if the Hollanders can counterminde a whole ſociety, that had ſo great a ſtocke, ſo well ſetled, ſo well governed abroad, & ſtill likely to be countenanced at home, what may then be expected from ordinarie private Marchants who have no ſucceſſion, periſhing one by one in their Individuals? but that the Hollanders will have ſo much more advantage over them, and they not being otherwiſe able to make a voyage, at length turne Pyrates and prey upon one another: A Corporation it muſt be and a powerfull one too, that followes this trade, able to plant Colonies by degrees and make

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head in the Indies if need be againſt the Hollanders incroaching, & proving there too weake may here be righted by his Majeſtie: than which, nothing certainly will more keepe the Hollanders from attẽpting their utter extirpation; they muſt have factories eſtabliſhed up and downe where their ſhips may be ſure of victuals and reliefe in their diſtreſſe; they muſt bee ſuch as have ſtocke enough to contract and deale with States and Princes for great matters as well as ſmall, which though a private man doe undertake for, yet ſhall bee not be credited: Theſe few amongſt infinite other reaſons may neceſſarily inferre that none can manage this waightie buſines to the juſt improvement ſave a joynt and well governed ſtocke and Companie which will yet afford another notable advantage, that now preſents it ſelfe to my memory, for the future benefit and ſafetie of this State, in that (which yet will bee much more when they begin to flouriſh as is expected) being accuſtomed to have ſundry Warehouſes and Magazins full of Bisket, Fiſh, Fleſh, Butter, Cheeſe, Wine and Vineger to make beverage of, Caske, Anchores, Sails, all proviſions of Navigation bought by them at times and ſeaſons to moſt advantage, & Mariners that tarrie at home expecting their imployment, when ere the King or State ſhould have occaſion of a ſuddẽ expedition, this provident Societie without dammage to their peculiar affaires, might lend or ſell them of all ſorts to the great advancement of the interprize, which ſometimes not onely delay makes hazardous, but utterly diſapoints, as at preſent, is thought, about a Fleet of twenty ſhips onely to be ſent againſt the Pyrates of Algier at Sea, and cannot bee got ſoone enough in readineſſe for want of Marriners and proviſions.

10. The tenth is the erecting of a new Court, or Magiſtrate conſiſting of Marchants where all Marchants and Marchantlike cauſes and differences ſhould bee ſummarily decided without appeale, ſaving through his Majeſties ſpeciall grace in caſe of palpable injuſtice, and this Court to condemne in Principall, Intereſt, charges, dammages, and fines too, if the cauſe in their judgements might have ſeemed plaine to moſt men of ordinary apprehenſion, to the end that knaves and litigious perſons may bee deterred from moving ſuites without good ground, or withholding any thing, that belongs unto another.

Theſe Courts are ſetled in Italy, France, and many other Countreyes with good ſucceſſe, being grounded upon reaſon, and practiſe of Marchants diſperſed throughout the world, for moſt part, without reſpect to the Municipall lawes and priviledges

of any particular place or Kingdome, for if it should not bee one and the same, but varie according to severall Dominions and Jurisdiction, a Marchant adventuring himselfe, or his Estate abroad, in a case of one and the same nature might bee cast both wayes in severall Countreyes without a possibility of reliefe.

This Court then ought for very good reason to consist of Marchants, in regard a Marchant of good naturall endowments bread at least a competent Grammer Scholler, having lived abroad, experienced in customes and affaires of sundry Countreyes, may questionlesse be a generally more knowing man than any other of what profession soever, and so better qualified for decyphring the intricate and various difficulties (which seeme to many as darke obscure Hieroglyphicks) arising from this profession: For, as the Mysterie of Marchants is more subtill and active suddenly multiplying contracts infinitely beyond all others; so doe spring from thence more knottie and abstruse differences and disputes, far better understood, and consequently to be judged and ended by understanding Marchants, yet happily the assistance of a skilfull Civilian with name of Chancellour or such like, I conceive, may not doe amisse to bee subordinate to the Marchants, for otherwise he may likely too much sway, and with his more volubil tongue overtalke the Marchants and run away with the cause according to his singular opinion: yet must he not be meale mouthed neither, for then will he be overaw'd much more by the Marchants who have such odds in number.

But a speciall care this Court must have to dispatch each cause with all possible expedition, for these of all other can worst admit demurers; because either the commodities which Marchants strive about are perishable, or ships must goe on their voyages, Marriners may not tarry behind and loose their service, and the very time eates out eight in the hundred from him that suffers on whatsoever summes in controversie; and though (as I conceive) next to unhealthines, law suites may justly bee thought the greatest misery in this world to all in generall, yet Marchants of all others are lesse able to attend them; for law suites as the case stood, were growne as hazardous as playing at dice, and reckoning the butlers boxe too boote, the Lawyers fees and charges have much the odds, onely in this the Gamster has advantage, that though hee loose, each cast still puts him out of paine: whereas sometimes a mans suite at Law outlives himselfe, and perhaps the cause lost afterwards

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becauſe, he could live no longer to defend it; and yet if hee had not dyed, ſhould never have beene ended: but my meaning is this, that whoſoever goes to Law, muſt *hoc agere*; and a Merchants affaires require *totum virum*; now ſince a Merchant ought onely, and can be all but in one of theſe, this Court will bee the more bound in equitie and juſtice to free him from the other.

And ſince this Law is ſo troubleſome, and chargeable to all ſorts of people and conditions, if in a particular office ſo appoynted, all judgements, morgages, contracts, and bargaines, and incumbrances whatſoever, of Lands, Houſes, Offices, &c. (the juſt Title whereof wee cannot, by looking in his face, know to whom belongs) were neceſſarily to be regiſtred, and the partie that owes them in a booke compendiouſly to be made Creditor and Debtor when he ſells them, his title onely being to be preferred in caſe of controverſie, who had his contract regiſtred in this Office, and Credit in the ſaid Book, unleſſe omitted through defaut of the ſaid Office, which in ſuch caſe muſt appeare by Coppie of the Contract under-writ by this Officer, remaining with the true proprietor of thoſe Lands, houſes, &c. it would certainly prevent the greateſt part of Law-ſuits in *England*, ſince going to that office, a man intending to make a purchaſe, and paying a ſmal matter for the ſearch, as he may ſee (and have Copie of it if he pleaſe) to whom the goods belong'd, were morgaged, or interiourly ingaged, and ſo bee ſure the Title's good.

The ſame Court of Merchants, if thought requiſite, may likewiſe end all differences about inſurance, obliging the inſurer to runne all hazzard imaginable or not imaginable, of that may, and do happen to fall out of all kindes and natures, and to pay whatſoever loſſe that happens on goods aſſured in ſuch words: for the intention of the inſured being to ſecure themſelves from all caſualties that poſſibly could happen in this world, ought therefore to have each ſiniſter, though difficult accident interpreted in their favour: In caſe of loſſe, the Inſurers ſhould bee conſtrained to pay without the leaſt abatement, and be paid the *Præmium* when they ſubſcribe the policies, whereby the inſured would have better opportunitie to pick and choſe the rareſt men to under-write his policie, and the Inſurer to be freed from all loſſes: the newes whereof was heard before the *Præmum* was paid, which muſt appeare in writing by a particular receipt, beſides that of the policie, where they ſay to have received it at that inſtant of ſubſcribing; and ſometimes cannot get it notwithſtanding in many yeares after: the Inſured likewiſe

might be bound to runne adventure of $\frac{1}{4}$ part himſelfe on every ſhip, which will not onely hinder much deceit, that might bee practiſed, but cauſe him to endeavour the ſafetie of all the reſt: much more may likely appeare juſtly to be reform'd in due place and ſeaſon.

The tenth is the erecting of a Banke or Grand Caſh on ſuch foundation and ſecuritie, as all men may thinke their monies more ſure there, than in their houſes, whereby they may bee induc'd to bring them in, and receive a certaine moderate intereſt of about 5. *per* 100. or keep them there, till they ſhall have occaſion to diſpoſe of them, or pay them to another: and theſe payments, when the Bank hath once got credit, may be done by aſſignation, or turning them over from one man to another, without any reall aſſuring of monies: which beſides ſaving trouble to tell ſo much money, becomes exceeding beneficiall to a Common-wealth, increaſing the trade and traffick ſo much more as all the monies this Bank hath gained credit for doth import: as for example thus:

Suppoſe I be caſh-keeper to ten wealthy men, that amongſt them all for the moſt part have 10000 *li.* ſtil lying dead, expecting a good opportunity and advantage to purchaſe Land, or otherwiſe: I that am Caſh-keeper, knowing there can be no occaſion of theſe ten thouſand pounds till ſuch a time; or if there ſhould be ſooner, know where to have as much to put i'th place of it, and withall having the owners conſent, doe put theſe ten thouſand pounds out at intereſt, or imploy it in one commodity or other for my owne account and benefit, to the encreaſe of Trade, which is equally done as well with credit as ready money.

Thus a Banke is no more than a Grand Caſh-keeper of this whole Kingdome, or ſo many as doe bring in their monies, whereof few or none will make any ſcruple, when due ſecuritie be given, and this ſecuritie at preſent perhaps will bee deſired, no leſſe than the High Court of Parliament; which, if they pleaſe out of their deep wiſedomes to reſolve upon, and the monies which ſhall lie idle to be made uſe of, for their benefit and behoofe, to take account thereof in their Triennial Parliament, and diſpoſe it to the good of the Common-wealth, with their gracious permittance, I ſhould in all humilitie be bold to ſay, there never paſſed Act of Parliament ſo capable to advance the trade and welfare of this Kingdome, with ſuch facilitie and ſpeed as this, as I doubt not but to make better apparent when e're I be commanded.

And whereas it may be thought, that few will bring their monies

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into this Banke, conceiving it not ſo ſafe for them to lye thus depoſited in a Monarchie, as if it were a free ſtate, eſpecially ſince the monies in the Tower were ſo lately ſeized upon without regard of violating the publick faith, which in States and Princes affaires ought to be kept ſo much more ſacred, as Princes are exalted above Subjects and termed Gods. I will crave leave to preſent unto their conſideration the ſtate of *Tuſcanie*, well knowne to have continually flouriſhed in peace and plentie, ever ſince the politique and ſage family of *Medici* had rule and government therof, and it may juſtly have beene obſerved unto this day, that no Prince makes uſe of a larger prerogative, and proceeds in ſome cafes more arbitrarily than thoſe who yet end and ſentence according to the Lawes in full force of equitie and juſtice.

This Prince in what part of his ſtate ſo ever hee bee, gives audience twice a weeke to all that come, though very beggers. (O that our gracious Soveraignes more large affaires could but permit him to grant his loving and loyall Subjects the like but once a month, whereby we might not onely have beene ſooner eaſed of many juſt grievances, but his Majeſtie perhaps both truer and ſpeedier informd of the cauſes, & ſo better enabled through his profound judgment to prevent theſe great diſtractions, which have and doe ſtill at preſent ſo much perplexe theſe Kingdoms) and no man delivereth a Petition, but within three dayes at fartheſt, ſhall be certaine of a reference, ſo that his prerogative and arbitrarie proceedingss are ſo farre from being injuſt, as they ſerve onely in caſualties, which the Lawes have not provided for, certaine conjunctions which may not expect, or thou regard, the Ceremonial Rites, and ſlow or over-haſty foot-ſteps of a Court of Juſtice (may it upon this occaſion be ſo termed without offence) and to prevent the *ſummum jus*, which even by Proverb wee have learnd to terme but *Summa injuria*: In this ſtate I ſay, whoſe Prince is ſo abſolute and Soveraigne as none in Chriſtendome ſo much (notwithſtanding the Popes ſupremacy, which in his owne underſtanding is of unlimited extent) there is ſuch courſe took for due adminiſtration of juſtice, diſtinguiſhing betwixt *meum* and *tuum*, and preſerving each mans propriety in his goods, as not onely thoſe Natives, but others, ſtrangers, think not their eſtates ſecurer, then depoſiting them in the *Florentine* Banke, which is by them called *Monte di Pieta*, where they have five *per* 100. intereſt *per annum*, and may receive out the principall at pleaſure: In the ſame Banke are infinite ſummes left by particulars for the like intereſt, entail'd upon their poſteritie,

which cannot be remov'd, or alienated: And that you may ghesse how vaſt a Capitall this Mount or Banke conſiſts of, it lends likewiſe upon Pawnes at 5 ½ *per* 100, and to a landed man upon ſecuritie of ſuch another, which is equall to a Morgage, becauſe their Lands being regiſtred in an office for that purpoſe, the true title thereof is ſeene in an inſtant, and as his Majeſtie here in *England*, ſo the Banke there is to bee firſt ſatisfied in caſe of Bankrupt, and what is thus lent, by the beſt information I could get, was thought to bee above a million ſterling. Beſides, there is another kind of Bank in *Florence*, which is called *Il giro*; as thus, Every three moneths the Merchants of *Florence* chuſe one amongſt themſelves of beſt credit, who is to be (as it were) the generall Caſh-keeper of all moneyes delivered, or taken by exchange, for that preſent Faire; the manner whereof you will finde explaned at large hereafter, ſo that what moneyes bee delivered, or drawne by any man during this Faire, the ſayd generall Caſh-keeper makes him Debtour or Creditour, turning the ſlyd ſummes over from one to the other, provided hee be ſuch a man as hath money in his Caſh, and at three moneths end hee makes up his Caſh, payes everie man his owne, and the Merchants chooſe another for the next Faire, or three moneths following.

Now if the benefit and conveniencie of theſe Banks are thus enjoyed in *Tuſcany*, where the Prince is ſo abſolute; but withall, his Treaſurer and other Miniſters ſo punctuall in payments and other dealings for the Princes peculiar ſervice, as no Merchant can be more; for which cauſe Merchants hold it more ſecure, and ſeek rather to deale with them, than with the beſt meere Merchants like themſelves: Why may not we, under ſo pious and gracious a Soveraigne, in a Kingdome founded and eſtabliſhed upon ſuch wholeſome Lawes, expect the like good ſucceſſe from a Banke in *England?* For being ſo exceedingly beneficiall both to King and Countrey, as would daily ſtill more and more appeare, wee may eaſily beleeve it ſhould bee furthered and cheriſhed by both; the rather ſince it may bee ſetled and credited by Act of Parliament, with command that neither principall nor profit ſhall beeſtirred or employed, ſave for their account, according to expreſſe order & direction of the Triennial Parliament, whereto onely ſuch as overſee and manage it, may be made accountable, if ſo thought fitting.

And as it may be obſerved amongſt Merchants and prodigall Spendthrifts, that ſuch as are bad Pay-maſters, or of little credit, can neither buy,

buy, ſell, or bee entruſted to ſuch advantage as others are: So is it doubtleſſe with Princes and their Miniſters that are not punctuall in their dealings; for in delaying payments, the verie time unto a Merchant eats out eight per centum *in a yeare, beſides the inconveniencies which may befall him by being diſappoynted, and this verie juſtly too, is ſo feareſull unto moſt Merchants, that thoſe few as are more adventurous, will not deale with ſuch Miniſters of Princes as are bad Pay-maſters, but upon ſuch odds as muſt needs bee an exceſſive dammage to the affaires of thoſe Princes; and yet this cannot well be remedied, untill the cauſe be firſt removed; for ſince gaine is that which all, eſpeceally Merchants, doe chiefly aime at, it might be juſtly thought indiſcretion for any one in buying, ſelling, or any buſineſſe of like nature, to refuſe the more punctuall Pay-maſter, and take the leſſe at the ſame price: and how much his Majeſties affaires have ſuffered in this kind, ſuch as were employed in them doe beſt know. But for my part, I may be bold to wiſh they be managed hereafter with ſuch credit and punctualitie, that which formerly was loſt for want thereof, may be hereby regained: more may, though not well ſo publikely, be ſayd on this ſubject, and the conſequence of it, both for the private benefit and publike welfare of his Majeſtie and Kingdomes; and part thereof will be obvious to ſuch as have the managing of it, as will infallibly appeare when it once comes to be put in practice.*

The twelfth is the ſecure turning over bils of debt from one to another, againſt moneyes or wares, as thus: A Merchant ſels an hundred pounds worth of ſilks unto a Mercer, to pay at 12 moneths, and deſirous to buy an hundred pounds worth of *Perpetuana's*; but having neither ready money to diſburſe for the preſent, nor credit to be truſted at time gives this Mercers bond of an hundred pounds unto whom he ſold his ſilks, in payment of the *Perpetuana's*, and ſo is ſtill doing ſomething, whereas otherwiſe having no other eſtate but this hundred pounds, hee could not have traded againe, untill thoſe twelve moneths were expired, and the Mercer payd him his 100 pounds: but if this courſe be once made ſecure and currant, it will in the ſame manner as the Bank before ſpoken of, add livelyhood unto Trade, and encreaſe the ſtock of the Kingdome; for what concernes traffiquing with it, ſo much as theſe Bils turned over amount to: when a man that hath neither money, nor credit to be truſted at time, may yet follow trading with the debts that others owe him: In this caſe a bill of debt (which likewiſe may be in print) muſt be made by every one that buyes commodities payable to ſuch a one, or his Aſſignes, or Bearer therof, & ſo often as bils happen to be

over unto others; to prevent differences it may not bee amiſſe to have ſome notice taken of them, and regiſtred, the parties being preſent before the Chancellour in the fore-mentioned Court of Merchants, paying a ſmall conſideration for the officers, making record of them in a publick Book for ſuch purpoſe; and theſe Bills being once due, to carry preſent execution with them.

The thirteenth, that ſome courſe be agreed upon in the nature of a Faire, or money Mart practized much in *France*, as that of *Lions*, and *Placentia* in *Italy*; by which meanes a man of credit may be furniſhed with what ſummes of money he pleaſes at an inſtant, and pay them in againe the weeke following, or when hee will; which accommodation coſts ſuch as make uſe of it in thoſe parts where 'tis ordinarie ſomewhat more than downe-right intereſt.

The originall of theſe Faires, as alſo the unnaturall uſe of Exchanges grew thus: Divines in former times continually exclaiming againſt Vſurie, which thoſe of the *Roman* Church doe ſtill to this day, voting it a mortall ſinne, to take whatſoever the leaſt benefit or encreaſe, by expreſſe agreement for the uſe of money, preſſing it unceſſantly upon the conſciences of their Penitentiaries, ſuch as having ſtore of monies, though they found no more beneficiall, certaine, and eaſie way of imploying them than downe-right intereſt, which they could not get abſolution for from their Ghoſtly Fathers, were forc'd to ſet their heads a work, and ſo invented, or rather adulterated the true and moſt laudable uſe of Royall Exchanges in two reſpects: one was, that Vſurers obſerving how in all Exchanges, as namely betwixt *London* and *Venice*, *& vice versâ*, he that was the deliver had moſt commonly the advantage, which was cauſed in regard, that (as in all things elſe ſo) a ſumme of preſent money (may juſtly be, and) is thought ſomething better worth than the like ſumme or quantity being abſent, and not to be received till after a terme expir'd, be it more or leſſe; in which interim the taker may make uſe of the ſaid ſumme of money, imploying it in Merchandize or otherwiſe, as he pleaſe to his beſt advantage: whereupon the Vſurers of *Venice*, although they had no occaſion or juſt neede to have their eſtates in *London*, on which was firſt grounded the truely genuine and legitimate uſe of money-Exchanges, to prevent the inconvenience, trouble, change, and cumbrance of tranſporting monies in *ſpecie* from one Country to another, underſtanding of Merchants, that deſired to take up monies in *Venice*, and pay the value of them in *London*, told them

they

they had occasion to deliver monies in *Venice*, and so agreed with them; as for example: *A. B.* a Vsurer delivers in *Venice* a Ducat to *C. D.* a Merchant, taking his Bill of *Exchange* upon *E. F.* to pay unto *A. B.* or his assignes, fifty pence a piece sterling in *London*, three moneths after Date. *A. B.* makes the same partie *E. F.* Assignes, to get acceptance of the Bill, and payment of the fifty pence in due time, and having received it to returne it him backe againe by Exchange to his most advantage. At three months end, *E. F.* delivers in *London* this fiftie pence unto *G. H.* and takes his Bill of Exchange upon *L. M.* to pay unto *A. B.* the Vsurer in *Venice*, or his Assignes, the value of it three moneths after Date, which is by them agreed to be after the rate of foure pence sterling for a Ducat: So that *A. B.* the Vsurer for delivering a Ducat by Exchange in *Venice*, after sixe moneths is possessed of his Ducat returned backe againe, with the value of three pence sterling more, which after the same rate is 12. *per* 100. on whatsoever sum or sums he had thus deliverd by Exchange.

The second way which the Vsurers found out, not so much to salve their tender Consciences, as to benefit themselves more by than down right Interest, was, by framing an imaginarie Exchange betweene two places, as *Florens* and *Placentia* in *Italy*, betwixt which there is no just cause of correspondence, Exchanging, Traffique, or sending monies from either place unto the other, and agreed amongst themselves in *Florens*, that whosoever (to be understood of good credit and repute) would take monies by Exchange, for *Placentia* might doe it in this manner: that is, whosoever will take up money from the beginning of *Iune* at such rates as shall be agreed on, may, but that unlesse he give order for the payment of it in the meane time in *Placentia*, by a correspondent of his owne, or another with this Vsurer, will helpe him to (who drawes provision of $\frac{1}{3}$ *per* 100. on all summes charg'd upon him, or return'd by him) it must bee recharg'd and necessarily satisfied in *Florens* the beginning of *September* following, and this is by them cald *La fiera di san Gio. Battista*. The second, (for they have foure of these faires, or Money-Marts in a yeare) is called *La fiera di san Carlo*, from the beginning of *September* to the beginning of *December*. The third, *La fiera di Purificatione*, from the beginning of *December* to the beginning of March. The fourth, *La fiera di san Marco*, from the beginning of *March* to the beginning of *Iune*: in all which three last, what monies are drawne in the beginning must be extinguished in *Placentia* in the interim, or will

returne

returne neceſsarily to be ſatisfied in *Florence*, at end of the third moneth currant following, as in the firſt Faire is declared: And this is the ſtate of their Money-Faires, or Marts before mentioned; whereby, although it be *uſura paliata*, thoſe indulgent and overcharitable Romaniſts ſuffer themſelves to be led blind-fold, for ſaving both ſoules and purſes of their Clients: For though they put a difference betwixt it and plaine Intereſt, or Uſury, becauſe in the former there is not only no certaine gaine agreed on, but a poſsibility of loſse, yet the loſse to him that makes uſe of money thus by exchange, is ſo far certaine, as he had better be content to pay eight *per centum*, ſure all yeare long, than run the hazard of this uncertainty: But that which undeniably concludes this courſe to be altogether as bad as uſury is, that theſe Uſurers deliver moneyes in *Florence* by exchange, to receive the value in *Placentia*, and having received the value of it in *Placentia*, have no uſe for it there, nor know what to doe with it, but retnrne it back againe for *Florence*, which no man in his perfect ſenſes would trouble himſelfe about, and run the hazard of bad debts, were it not for great hopes and probability of gaine to countervaile the whole. Whereas the command or precept at laſt was, *Luke* 6.35. *Date mutuum, nihil inde ſperantes*; So that theſe money-Faires, and taking up moneyes by exchange, to enjoy the time and uſe of money only, is juſt the ſame with taking up at intereſt or uſury, neither better nor worſe, and how lawfull uſury is I will not take upon mee to determine, the rather, becauſe that onely Proteſtant and Papiſts Doctors, Divines and Lawyers, doe diſagree about the definition of Uſury; but both one and other have furniſhed us with ſundry definitions of it, much varying amongſt themſelves; but that on both ſides neereſt agreed on is this, *Uſura eſt lucrum receptum à Creditore pro uſu rei mutuò datæ*: and yet this only reaches to actuall uſury, and not mutuall alſo and intentionall, which reſts equally condemned *in foro conſcientiæ*: neither does this hold in every actuall receit of profit, benefit, or advantage, in conſideration of what is lent; for wee may take for lending of an houſe, and then it is houſe-rent; for lending of an Horſe, and then it is hire; for lending a Slave, or an Apprentice to work for others, and then it is wages; with ſundry others which might be alleaged, and neither of them thought unlawfull, or feneratitious: But if in ſtead of *rei* there were put *pecuniæ* into the definition, as thus, *Uſura eſt lucrum receptum à Creditore pro uſu rei mutuò datæ*: And this agreed upon to be the true definition: for my part, I ſhould think the taking of one, or ten, *per cent.* were

were both equally uſurie, and not in our power to qualifie one more than the other, and of this opinion are all Roman Divines and Lawyers.

But certainly, if it be but free to argue it, the precept or command of *Date mutuum nihil inde ſperantes*, being interpreted according to the aforeſaid definition might not onely ſeeme ſomewhat repugnant unto reaſon, but unto Scripture it ſelfe *Deut.* 23.20. (*extraneo iſti dabis in uſuram, fratri autem tuo ne*; for if Vſurie were abſolutely unlawful, as murther, adulterie, &c. God would not have permitted it to Wards, Aliens, or Strangers, then in regard there may be an occaſion of borrowing, as in a rich man that cannot be ſaid to doe it for need: for which cauſe I am not bound to lend him, but becauſe he ſees certaintie of profit, and rather than I will bee his hindrance of ſuch a profit, me thinks I find my ſelfe in a manner oblig'd to lend him what I could, and intended otherwiſe to imploy my ſelfe not without good hopes of benefit: and may not I in this care of certaine profit to my neighbour in borrowing, and certain dammage, (for the imploying it is alwayes valued at ſomewhat) to my ſelfe by lending, take intereſt for my money, and ſo he get more by borrowing, and I by lending? (ſuch a certainty, which though leſſe I was contented with, than to run hazard of a greater) which if it be granted, I onely inferre, that we know not the preciſe *adaquate* definition of uſurie, and ſo believe the rather, in that the moſt common received one cuts not off all lending, onely even upon hopes of profit, if for miſſing of our hopes we doe forbeare to lend, but would be found to vitiate moſt contracts, bargaines, and ſales, ſo commonly practiſed by all nations to the multiplying of trade, and reliefe of whole Kingdomes, and cannot bee reformed without the ruine of $\frac{4}{5}$ of all commerce throughout the Vniverſe.

But, as I ſaid, preſumption 'twould be in me to determine a matter of ſuch great controverſie, yet I am ſo tender of it, as that I doe moſt earneſtly deſire and pray it were by our Divines taken into ſerious conſideration, and by them declared how farre our intereſt money, and ſundry ſo much practis'd contracts were obnoxious to it: the rather in regard, though I never met with Author that did poſitively declare, the taking 8. or 10. *per* 100. not to be uſurie, or lawfull, yet whole Countries practice it with little or no ſcruple; ſo ſweetly and powerfully doth gaine and lucre benumbe the conſcience, which many notwithſtanding have

ſought to awake by writing and loud preaching, terming it to be flat uſurie, forbid throughout the Scripture, and utterly ſinfull and unlawfull; but at this ſtudie and conſultation of our Divines I crave leave to be bold, and entreat them not to diſdaine that light which expert Merchants might give them in this poynt, or otherwiſe conceive I ſhall alwayes bee able to furniſh them with new caſes, which they before never thought on, and acknowledge to need new deciſions: But if lending money at a moderate intereſt bee as lawfull as politickly uſefull to the Common-weale, there is it likewiſe much more commodious to take up monies by Exchange to trade withall, and moſt of all in the manner of a money Mart, or Faire, as above declared, (provided it may be ordered in ſuch ſort, as the intereſt or uſance import no more than what is allowed by ſtatute in downeright intereſt) becauſe in this faire a Merchant may take up money at an inſtant to furniſh his occaſions more ſpeedily, and if hee ſeaſe extinguiſh or pay it the weeke following: By this meanes may men bee punctuall in their payments, and having no monies in Cath, ſupply themſelves by this faire for payment of their debts, untill their owne come in, and this punctualitie will bee ſo much more requiſite and neceſſarie, when turning over of Bills comes in requeſt, and thoſe Bills have preſent execution, all which will adde incredible activitie and livelihood unto our trade which otherwiſe might languiſh.

The fourteenth is that inland Trad and Navigation, which is the carriage of goods within the Land bee facilitated and promoted, and this done by making Rivers Navigable, cutting artificiall ditches of ſuch depth as that the water may ſtand ſtill in a levell, or be kept in by ſluces or ſlud-gates, and boats laden with all commodities drawne by man or beaſt: High-wayes ſhould likewiſe be kept cleane of Robers, in good order and reparation; and if conveniently, be gravel'd, which would render them more paſſable. So great care hereof is had in *Germanie*, *Italie*, and ſome other Chriſtian Countries, nay by thoſe Barbarous people of the great Turks Dominions, as moſt part of their goods are carried to and fro twentie or fortie dayes journey out right, and at preſent beſides many others, the chiefe Trade betwixt *Venice* and *Conſtantinople* is drove by Land; I meane from *Spalato* to *Conſtantinople*; and many not over-fine, but bulkie goods, as *Venetian* Cloth, Turkie Grograines, Mohaires, Cordovans, Waxe and others are thus conducted at eaſier rates. 'Tis likewiſe much conducing

ducing to encreaſe of trade, to have poſts ſetled in ſuch other parts of *England* where they are wanting, and the portage of inland Letters to be leſſened about one halfe: for the Inland trade being yet but young in the infancie, cannot well bee at ſo great a charge for Letter carrying, which in *Italy*, *France*, *Germanie*, *Holland*, and other Countries ſtands not in halfe of what wee pay: and although 'tis certaine, that Merchants and others omitting to write weekly Letters unto their correſpondents, doth much prejudice their buſineſſe, and conſequently the generall trade and benefit: yet I verily believe, and not altogether without experience, that many a man doth run the hazard of his buſineſſe, rather than write, and pay ſixe pence to read his Letter: 'tis true that the Schoole-matters of *England*, being paid their ſtanding and extraordinarie wages out of this office doe cauſe poſtage of Letters to be ſo high: but farre better would it bee, that they were ſatiſfied ſome other way leſſe hurtfull unto trade, whoſe hindrance brings the greateſt hurt of all.

And whereas before I have given my conſent for all vagabonds, Beggers, and delinquents, not bad enough for hanging, to bee ſent for the new Plantations, yet if that be not approved, or beſides that courſe, it may be very requiſite that publike houſes were built, where ſuch as are willing to take paines, but finde no imployment, may bee ſet a worke to beat hemp, or other toyle learn'd at firſt ſight for a moderate hire, untill they have earn't ſomewhat towards imploying them in their owne callings; and the ſame houſes to keep at work thoſe other vagrant and idle people, untill it be thought fitter to ſhip them quite away: The building and ſtocking of theſe houſes, eſpecially in *London*, and other great Cities, would be a matter of no great charge, but certainly of wonderfull charitie, and a meanes to reclaime many ill diſpoſed wretches, and make them, *will they nil they*, in ſome ſort become ſerviceable to the Common-weale.

There is alſo another work of charitie, which I am very zealous to make mention of, in hopes this Citie ſo famous for deeds of mercie, or ſome well diſpoſed perſon will ſoone put in practice, which is the erecting of a Mount of charitie, and lending it ſuch monies, (no great ſumme 'twould be) as might furniſh all comners as farre as fortie ſhillings a piece, at ten *per cent.* upon pawnes worth $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ more than is borrowed for twelve months; which beeing expired, the pawne unredeem'd to bee ſold at out crier

This may well ſeeme a ſecure and gainſome buſineſſe to be embraced by a particular rich man for profits ſake, and like enough to prove ſo: but ſure I am, it would bee an exceeding great reliefe to many hundred poore people about the City of *London* onely, that are glad to pay, becauſe they can hav't no cheaper above thirty *per centum*, nay after the rate of double the Money for a yeares intereſt, and leave a pawne to boot ſometimes.

Did I not conceive theſe workes of darkneſſe to be kept from eares and eyes of thoſe whoſe authority might hinder ſuch extortions in puniſhing them, or their purſes and almes prevent them by erecting a Mount of Charitie to prevent them, I ſhould bee fearefull they had much to anſwer for: Believe me there are thouſands in this City whoſe faces are thus grinded, yet live, whoſe ſuccour would be of ſo much greater conſequence to the whole maſſe of Inland commerce, being ſtirring people, whom need hath made induſtrious, and taught to turne their peny as you heare, or elſe could never live under ſuch extortion, which notwithſtanding at laſt muſt grinde them quite to powder before their time, for ſcarce being able in their youth, by reaſon of theſe blood-ſuckers, heavie burthens to ſave ſo much for themſelves as will keep life and ſoule together, age comming on though few of them doe live ſo long, when they cannot trudge up and downe ſo faſt, ſhift ſo well for themſelves, nor fare ſo hardly, muſt quickly break both back and heart: wherefore if private bountie provide not for their redemption, the publick cannot be better imployd.

The improvement of our Lands and husbandrie my juſtly here bee thought upon, the rather becauſe I feare mee wee come ſhort herein of moſt *Chriſtian Nations*: for in what Countrie ſo populous lyes there ſo much ground waſt? or being manur'd to produce ſo ſmall a crop? Tis certaine, that both in hot and cold *Countries, more marſhie Lands, more drie, more ſandie, more clayie are till'd and improv'd to far greater advantage, and yet have not ſuch a ſtore of Dung, Chalke, Marle, and others to qualifie their great defects, ſo that it may appeare, our lazineſſe and want of induſtrie to be the onely cauſe of barrenneſſe.*

But I have knowne a policie practiſed elſewhere amongſt people over-ſlothfull, that would not worke above halfe the weeke, if they could get money enough to feed them for the whole, and that was by clapping exciſes and taxes upon what they eat and drank,

drank, ſo that a weeks labour with this ſawce, whet their ſtomacks, as they were well able to eat out what they earned afterwards in a whole week by Sunday night. A very fit ſalve for ſuch a ſore, for cure whereof all experiments are few enough to put in practice; yet I wiſh wee may begin with more mild at firſt, and conſider what meanes, and encouraging the Husbandman to be more induſtrious, might preſent themſelves; for certainly hee is too dull and careleſſe of his owne profit in particular, which is a parcell of the generall, in that it may be obſerved, how many of them have not ſo much as a fruit-tree, or pot-herb about their houſes or cottages: the barrenneſſe of the ſoyle cannot excuſe this totally, there being none found ſo curſed by nature; but if the time they beake in the Sun, and liquor themſelves at Ale-houſe in the ſhade, were ſpent about improving it, would by degrees compell it to produce ſome ſort of roots, herbs, and fruit, as are both profitable, pleaſant, and wholeſome for their nouriſhment, far more ſometimes, than ſolid maſſie food of fleſh, cheeſe, and pudding, by reaſon of their practice, being where ere they come, or what ere they eat. to cram themſelves to the throat, which ſince they will, is yet leſſe dangerous in diet of light digeſtion than the other, that nothing but a whole dayes plowing or delving can put over, and cleare their braines from fumes.

The fourteenth is, that all Merchants trading into one place and Province be contracted into a Corporation, the want whereof, or the non-obſervance of their Charters and Priviledges, both at home and abroad, hath no little prejudiced the trade of all parts in generall; for by this meanes they could not agree, nor keep themſelves from under-ſelling one another in our native commodities, nor over-valuing of the forraine. both which we have juſt cauſe to complaine of. could we as eaſily find a remedy to redreſſe them. 1 15.

Beſides, if they were ſo many Corporations, they would bee better reſpected and regarded by Princes and States, where it concernes them to reſide, and might better, and with more credit and advantage, capitulate with them for divers priviledges and immunities.

I know there are many that cry out, to have merchandizing leſt open and free for any one to trade, where, when, and how he will; which I may confeſſe would much encreaſe it for the preſent, not without advantage perhaps of ſome particular men, and this, may bee, might laſt ſome yeares too, this Kingdome being ſo popu-

lous, and altogether as adventurous, though one halfe were undone, the reſt, too greedy of gaine, would ſcarce beleeve them, but make triall alſo, and ſo run on headlong unto our utter ruine, which muſt needs be the concluſion of all affaires managed by ſuch as obſerve no good order, nor underſtand well what they goe about.

For preventing whereof, the firſt and beſt ſtep may bee by this Honourable Parliaments confirmation of their ſeverall Charters, or if need be, by granting new, with larger priviledges and power, in force whereof ſuch ſeverall Societies underſtanding their owne myſteries beſt, may have full authoritie to order and governe them accordingly. What was before ſayd concerning the neceſſitie of a Corporation, for the better managing of the *Eaſt India* trade, though in that eſpecially moſt neceſſarie, yet it is in all others of exceeding great importance for the verie ſelfe ſame reſpects, though not in ſo large a manner; for where no government is, diſorders muſt needs ſpring up, and no poſſibilitie of a redreſſe, but from experience of ſuch as brought them in, which they only meaſure and attaine to by their owne ruine: yet one *Item*, and that no ſlight one, I will give more, which is, that of all other Nations, the *Engliſh* have moſt need of this ſuperintendencie and government, becauſe no Merchants ſo young as they, neither at home nor abroad, are entruſted by others, nor deale for themſelves in ſuch great ſums of money as *Engliſh* doe.

The ſixteenth, that there be a Commiſſion, or a peculiar and ſelect Magiſtrate of ſo many as ſhall be thought fitting, to ſit weekly, adviſing and conſulting all advantages of commerce, amongſt which ſome underſtanding Merchants will be neceſſarie, and the ſame Merchants to be as often, and as much as poſſible, of the Court of Merchants before mentioned, where hearing the ſtate and deciſion of all differences betwixt Merchants, would be much for their owne information, and inſtructing their Aſſociates of this other Magiſtrate which now I ſpeake of, and not onely enable them with ſome courſe to remedy and prevent them for the future, but thereby alſo to advance traffique.

The ſeventeenth and laſt meanes is, that Merchants have certaine immunities from being called to inferiour offices and ſervices where they live, and other priviledges of due reſpect and repute given them, whereby they may bee encouraged to continue, and others to betake themſelves to ſo worthy and honourable a calling.

Of

Of Merchants breeding, abilities, and advantage they have above all others, if they but employ it well, and that Merchandiſe is the grand columne and foundation of this Kingdomes wealth and ſafetie, I have given a touch before, knowing withall full well the ſaying of, *Faber quiſque fortunæ ſuæ:* And that a man, what ere hee be by inward worth and value, ſhall only bee to others what hee can make himſelfe knowne to bee; yet ſomething everie Merchant ſhould fare the better, in being ſo neceſſarie an Inſtrument of the Weales welfare; and although it may chance bee truly obſerved, how ſuch Merchants for the moſt part thrive beſt, that regard not the ſuperficiall complement and ceremonies of Gentilitie, more attending their buſineſſe at Exchange than Court; yet it might bee no ill policie to cheriſh and reſpect them, bearing with ſuch of them as doe leſſe regard the quainter and more courtly proceedings of the times, the rather in that ſlighting and deſpiſing them, as ſome great Courtiers have beene thought to doe, was but a meanes to thruſt them into a ſiniſter conceit of Court, teaching them to avoyd and ſhun all kinds of appearance, negotiation and treatie, (even when it concerned themſelves and publique good ſometimes) with ſuch as perhaps in Merchant-like affaires are well neere, not ſeldome as far from underſtanding them, as to bee underſtood by them in others. And whereas I have heard it objected by ſome of good rank too, that it was not ſo neceſſarie ſuch great reſpect were given to Merchants, in regard they fought onely their owne benefit and profit, and that if one were diſcouraged from trading, another would be encouraged to follow it; with their leave I ſhould be bold to anſwer, that this argument holds not, for that all encouragement is little enough, becauſe the more the better for the State in generall, and one Merchant to be valued as hundreds of ordinarie men, becauſe many hundreds of men are employed and maintained by one Merchant. And if ſome of their weakneſſes were not taken notice of with ſuch *Emphaſis*, and they (which in all other Myſteries and Sciences is approved requiſite) were but patiently permitted to ſpeake, uſing their owne language and termes of Art, (wherein his Majeſties ſuperabounding graciouſneſſe towards them on all occaſions was Preſident ſufficient) they would be found well able to expreſſe themſelves, and juſtifie their proceedings, and King and Court keeping touch in contracts and agreements, not only be willing to deale with them for their owne juſt gaines ſake, but as they might likely, learne ſomewhat a more courtly manner

and

and behaviour (leſſe neceſſarie in them) from Courtiers; ſo could Merchants adviſe them much more for the good government and husbanding their eſtates, a thing not diſhonourable for any to bee well vers'd in his owne buſineſſe, which cauſed the Italian proverb, *Mai s' imbratta le mani con far i fatti ſua*, A man never foules his hands with doing his owne buſineſſe: and everie one, whether he will or no, is a Merchant for what he buyes or ſels, be it lands houſes, or whatſoever elſe, and more gentile it is to ſell Cloth, Silk, Sattins, Iewels, &c. as meere Merchants doe, than Cattell, Hay, Hides, Wooll, Butter, Cheeſe, as Countrey Gentlemen, and others of beſt note and worth.

And beſides it may be obſerved, that Merchants for moſt part are of the ſame ſtock and Familie for Gentry, though the younger branch, and many perhaps wanting meanes to blazon it in due equipage and colors to the world became in a ſhort time very unable to give any account of it at all, which diſaſters many younger brothers of England *have been ſubject to, till advancing by Merchandizing their eſtate and fortunes above the elder brothers the Heralds made them beholding to them for their own birthright, & if as in* Italy *eſpecially the States of* Florence, Sienna, Piſa, Genua, *and* Lucca, *where they continue Merchants from one generation to another, we ſhould do the like in* England, *the greateſt part of the whole Kingdome and riches would quickly belong to Merchants; and although by this courſe the feate of Merchandizing would queſtionleſſe be much improved by long experimented obſervations conveyd unto poſterity from Father to Son ſucceſſively, which would not onely enable them to deale and better countermine the craft and ſubtilties of forraign Nations, but hinder in a great part ſuch often failings and bankrupts; yet ſince as I conceive the greateſt cauſe which makes many noble families in* Italy *ſo to continue Merchants, is, that countries being ſo populous abounding with monies & little land to purchaſe, neere one halfe of the whole Territory belonging to Monaſteries, Covents, and other Eccleſiaſticall Fraternities, which may in no wiſe be alienated; ſo I conceive it more laudable and agreeing to make a flouriſhing Kingdome and Common-wealth, for a Merchant being bleſſed with a competent eſtate to retire himſelfe from the cares and troubles of the world (which certainely a Merchant of great dealings is of all others moſt ſubject to) the better to ſpend the remainder of his dayes in thankfulneſſe to that God who even then had an eye over him, when perhaps little thought on, undoubtedly not ſo much as ſhould have bin, as alſo that young Merchants, I meane younger brothers or ſuch as*

have

have little or no meanes may come forward, which cannot poſſibly be, if the whole trade bee engroſſed onely by men of wealth and their poſteritie.

And now having run over theſe particulars, which preve more then I expected, and somewhat further proſecuted then I at firſt intended, though not well to bee omitted, in regard they may for this cauſe oppreſſe the memorie, give me leave to adde theſe fewe words as it were for burthen of the whole.

That unleſſe the fiſhing imployment and East India *traffique be followed and enlarged, other Nations will gaine upon us, our trade infallibly decline daily, and the whole State with the ſame ſpeede and paces poſt on to poverty and utter ruine.*

Thus then though I knew well, ſundry had writ more largely and worthily of this ſubjekt, yet was I moved to give a touch in brieſe, as you have ſeene, perſwading my ſelfe though there were nothing newe herein (which yet cannot be juſtly ſayd by what I ever met with either in manuſcript or Print,) ſome fewe might turne it over beeing ſhort, that could, nor would not bee troubled with a volume, and hereby be prevailed upon to move this High Aſſembly for imploying ſome due proportion of their grave wiſedome in conſultation, eſtabliſhing, and enlarging trade, which next to the buſineſſe of Religion and our Lawes well hoped to be by them both religiouſly & legally provided for, may perhaps juſtly claime the third place, whereby not onely the Kings revennes will bee encreaſed, but in time his Majeſtie come to need no other revennes, nor the Kingdome other ſecuritie or Bulwarke.

Here I would have put a period, but perceiving there are many well acquainted with theſe affaires who attribute the decay of trade to the overballancing of it, and the Merchandizing exchange, give me leave to paſſe a word thereon.

By overballancing of trade is meant, that wee bring into, and

conſume

conſume in England *forraigne commodities for a greater valow, then we ſend and ſell of our Native Commodities abroad, by which means we come indebted to forrain Nations, and have no other way to pay or extinguiſh it, but by tranſporting of our moneys, which will utterly ruine a trade and Kingdome in the end;*

For anſwere whereunto it may bee ſaid, that though greater quantities of forrain wares tee be brought in, then we ſend out of Native, yet it doth not follow neceſſarily that our gold and ſilver muſt goe to pay for them, in regard that Italian, Spaniard, French, and Dutch doe many times fraight Engliſh *ſhips, whereby good ſoms of money are yearely raiſed by our Nation abroad, and may ſerve to pay for the advance of forrain commodities that wee bring in, at leaſt for ſuch a proportion as this fraight money imports, which is to a conſiderable valew.*

But for my part, though in this point I have not declared my ſelfe throughout this ſhort diſcourſe, my opinion is, that our trade of Native commodities is not overballanced by the forraigne, nor gold and ſilver conveyed out, (unleſſe firſt brought in,) in ſo large manner as is ſuppoſed, for there being no Mines in England *that produce any ſtore, and wee having likely at preſent though conceald as much ready money as ever, at leſt before our inteſtine broyles diſperſ'd them, and never more riches in plate, if any coyne, either gold or ſilver hath beene carried out, as queſtionleſſe there hath, being to be ſeene apparantly both in France and the Low Countries, yet that ſilver and gold was firſt brought into* England, *for it growes not here, and then though ſome proportion be exported: yet if a greater bee firſt imported (which hath certainly beene ſo, for otherwiſe we ſhould have none at all left by this time) the riches of the Common-wealth will not decline, though they might flouriſh more if the exportation could totally bee hindred; and howſoever this will be found a taske moſt difficult, yet it is the courſe which we are likelieſt to prevaile with.*

For ſince the Chaos and whole body of trade is not managed joyntly, but by the particular Merchants and members of it, one whereof ſends out native Commodities, and brings his returnes home in Bullion, or by Exchange; another brings in forraine commodities, making over monies by Exchange to pay for them; and a third exports native commodities, and imports forraine too; if when there ſhould be a ballance made hereof, and our importa-

tion

tion of wares found to exceed our exportation, which in ſuch caſe muſt needs bee paid for, one way or other, and ſo invite our monies over, what remedy can bee taken without diſturbance of the whole trade? If flatly you prohibite the bringing in of forraine goods, forraine Nations will doe the like with ours, and at laſt both bee reduced to receive from one another ſuch onely as are neceſſarie, or moſt uſefull: wherefore a better courſe to moderate this ballance, would be with dexterity to lighten or lade either ſcale in the cuſtome and other charges, which may inſenſibly make one deare, and the other cheap, as is afore declared, with ſundry ſuch other meanes, all tending to enlarge traffique. And although other Princes might likewiſe doe the ſame in their dominions; yet many of them are ſo neceſſitous at preſent as will perhaps rather ſuffer ſome inconvenience, and runne the hazard of a greater, but abſent, and future dammage, than leſſen their revenues.

For if the trade were ballanc'd, we are leſſe able to reduce that firſt, and therein prevent the exportation of monies, then firſt by hindring monies through ſtricteſt diligence, and ſevere penalties, from being exported, and ſo in conſequence ſecure the over-ballancing of trade; for to uſe this diligence reſts in our ſelves, and being independant we may practiſe it without exceptions to other Nations; and if once effected, though no more Bullion ſhould be brought in, which yet will alwayes come more or leſſe, nothing could prejudice us, or breed ſcarcitie hereafter.

But before the exportation of monies can be prevented throughly, 'tis neceſſarie wee know who are thoſe that may likely tranſport them, and the cauſes that move, and enable them ſo to doe.

Such then as tranſport monies are either Merchants or Travellers, and both moved thereunto, either becauſe there is more to be gotten by tranſporting them in *ſpecie*, than delivering by Exchange, or elſe becauſe they have no experience or acquaintance with Merchants here or abroad, or deſire not to truſt them, but thinke it ſecureſt to adventure their monies with their perſons, which in ſuch caſe they have alwayes ready about them where ere they goe; but delivering by Exchange cannot many times receive the value where they will, if they reſolve to goe any other way, but where their Merchants hath credit, and promiſed to pay them: and theſe later are chiefely either ſuch as goe away to enjoy the li-

bertie of *Amſterdam*; and for moſt part they goe privately, and will not be knowne by delivering their monies by Exchange; and therefore carrie them in *ſpecie*, or elſe are Ambaſſadors, or private Gentlemen that goe abroad to travell, but in ſuch number, and each carrying with him for the moſt part fiftie or one hundred pound: nay many times double as much, which at yeares end draines the Kingdome of a very conſiderable ſumme; and therefore perhaps it might not be found amiſſe, that a Banker or Exchanger were eſtabliſhed at *Dover*, *Rie*, or ſome other Port (where all Travellers eſpecially ſhould be obliged to imbanke) that of himſelfe were enabled with credit, and obliged to give Bills of Exchange, and Letters of credit for moſt places of *France*, *Holland*, *Italy*, *Germanie*, and *Spaine*, unto all Travellers, they delivering him firſt ſuch monies as they had there preſent to carry along with them, or afterwards to deliver other Bills for other monies, brought and delivered them in like manner, and all at the true and juſt value of the Exchange; for herein *Travellers* to my knowledge have ſuffered much; which being prevented by ſetling the courſe aforeſaid, every *Paſſenger*, *Marriner*, or other of what ſort ſoever may well bee prohibited upon ſtricteſt penalties of life and goods, to carrie aboard either Boat or Ship above twenty ſhillings ſterling at the moſt.

And for Merchants, (unleſſe ſome pedling French Merchants) they commonly underſtand themſelves, and ſeeking their owne advantage, may either deliver their monies by Exchange, or ſend or carrie them over in *ſpecie*, according as one or other ſeems moſt beneficiall to them.

Now it may not be amiſſe to take notice, that it hath never or very ſeldome beene obſerved, more advantagious to carry monies over in *ſpecie* for what forraine parts ſoever, than deliver them by Exchange, and therefore probable that Merchants who underſtand their profit, and ſo much aime at it, have delivered their monies by Exchange from time to time, and not ſent them over in *ſpecie*, as is ſuppoſed: yet I muſt tell you, there was perhaps a time (which I well believe) and may too often bee ſo againe hereafter, that ſtrangers ſhall have ſo great quantities of monies by them; all which if they ſhould reſolve to deliver by Exchange, the Exchange would fall ſo low in their owne diſadvantage, (for more or leſſe deliverers or takers raiſe or bring downe the

the Exchange, which will more plainly appeare hereafter) as it might cauſe the tranſportation *in ſpecie* to bee more beneficiall than the Exchange, and certainly wee had neede provide for ſuch a time; for if Merchants have exceeding great ſummes to deliver, and finde no Takers ſave at extravagant low rates, nor Wares to imploy them in, to profit, they will run the hazard of conveyivg them away privately *in ſpecie*, to prevent a greater dammage and loſſe of time, by keeping them dead in *England*.

And theſe Merchants queſtionleſſe for moſt part are ſtrangers, and furniſhed with theſe monies three manner of wayes.

Firſt, by great ſums of monies made over to them by Exchange from forraine parts, in regard the Exchange of *London* hath uſed to bee ſo advantagious to the deliverer abroad, through the under-valuing of our monies in reſpect of other Countries, occaſioned, becauſe there are, or would bee, more deliverers of them than takers.

Secondly, by ſale, and proceed of goods that ſtrangers bring in, which they doe in great quantitie, becauſe they pay but little cuſtomes, onely 2½ *per cent.* more than *Denizens*, and export none of our Native commodities, becauſe they pay greater cuſtomes, on ſome I think as much againe as wee doe; and that which is the greateſt ſhame, the Herring, and other ſorts of fiſh taken by them in our Seas, nay verie Ports, and ſold to us for a verie round ſumme yearely; a great part whereof received in the Port Towns where we buy the fiſh, cannot eaſily be prevented without ſtricter diligence, and execution is carryed away, never to returne againe.

Thirdly, by their infallible halfe yeares incomes, and Revenewes of ſuch vaſt ſummes of money as they keep continually at intereſt in *London*; and if you demand the *ſumma totalis*, which all theſe make, I can onely anſwer you. *Pauperis eſt numerare pecus*: but howſoever indefinite, that it is immenſe, will hereby appeare.

Conſider the great quantities of goods of all ſorts wee export hence for forraine parts, the greateſt part whereof is ſold for money, and many hundred thouſand pounds ſterling thereof made over hither by Exchange; and yet ſtrangers have more monies to ſend out of *England*, than we have to bring into *England*, which is moſt evident in that the Exchange from forraine parts

(according to the intrinſecall value of the ſeverall *ſpecies* reſpectively) to *England* is more advantagious, than to *England* from forraine parts; for even as the ſcarcity of any commoditie makes it to be more valued, and held at a dearer price; ſo there being few deliverers abroad of monies for *London* which are *Engliſh*, in reſpect of the Takers, which are ſtrangers, and many Deliverers in *London*, which are ſtrangers in compariſon of the *Takers* which are *Engliſh*, the few *Engliſh Deliverers* abroad, and *Takers* at home ſtand upon their termes, bringing the Exchange in their favour, and this is called the *Merchandizing Exchange*, becauſe quite oppoſite to the nature of Exchange, which was found out to prevent carriage of monies up and downe: this invites the exportation of them in *ſpecie*, and therefore a table of Rates is propounded which ſhould ſtint the Exchanging our ſeverall Coyns with thoſe of other Nations, according to the paritie and puritie both in weight and goodneſſe of allay, and ſo ſettle the price of Exchanges for all Countries, which Merchants might not exceed in delivering or taking monies by Exchange.

For anſwer hereto, I conceive it may be granted, that in delivering monies by Exchange in England for forraine parts we receive not the true value or par *according to the intrinſecall goodneſſe of the Coyne; but this is our advantage, and only dammageable to ſtrangers, becauſe they (and not* Engliſh*) are the Deliverers in* England; *neither will this Merchandizing Exchange likely carrie away our monies, ſo long as the Exchange produces as good profit, as the money it ſelfe, if it were tranſported, would yeeld in ſpecie, which for the moſt part may hitherto have beene obſerved; but hereon, as alſo about the ſaid Table of Rates, I hope it may give a little light to enlarge ſomewhat more, though not altogether ſo Methodically.*

Granted it is then (by me at leaſt) that our monies are undervalued by Exchange with ſtrangers, and that though we may commonly make as much of them by Exchange, as carrying them in Specie, *to ſpend in ordinarie payments, yet the Mint in forraine Countries may give more for them, (otherwiſe they are not undervalued) and this profit from the Mint may doubtleſſe intice them over: but whether a Table of Rates can prevent this or no; or if it could, whether ſuch a Table might not prove more prejudiciall in another reſpect, will be the queſtion.*

For

For though our moneyes be under-valued, it is our advantage, in regard we *Engliſh* doe buy our owne moneyes thus under-valued, ſo often as wee take moneyes by exchange in *England*, or deliver them by Exchange abroad, and ſtrangers are they that ſell us our owne moneys thus cheap, or under-valued, ſo that this is but buying and ſelling good cheap, whilſt ſtrangers ſell good cheap, and we buy it: and this profit wee have queſtionleſſe upon all our moneys delivered for *England*, out of the proceed and ſale of our goods abroad. Neither is this all, for ſince we advance in delivering our moneyes abroad by exchange for *England*, we are enabled to ſell our cloth and other commodities the cheaper; for if for 35 ſhillings Flemiſh delivered abroad, I can have 20 ſhillings ſterling in *England*, I may ſell my cloth for one eighth part leſſe in Flemmith money, than if I were to give 40 ſhillings Flemmiſh to have 20 ſhillings ſterling in *England*, being all one to a Merchant that ſels for money, and delivers it afterwards by exchange, to ſell his wares at a bad price, and have a good exchange for his moneyes, or ſell his wares at a good price, and have a bad exchange for his moneyes.

This ſtinting then, as it will bring the Exchange in favour of the Engliſh coyne, and conſequently beat downe the price of what commodities Forrainers ſell in *England*, thereby encreaſing the vent of them; ſo will it raiſe the price of our commodities ſold abroad, and diminiſh their vent, which being well conſidered, may perhaps prove a dammage to us, at leaſt for ſuch a portion as is ſold for money to be made over hither by exchange. for though we ſeem to get ſo much the more as we ſell our commodities the dearer, yet when we remit the provenue by exchange, by reaſon of this ſtint, we loſe by exchange a part of what we advanced on our commodities; and what we loſe by exchange, onely a few Merchants ſtrangers make benefit of; and what wee get more in the price of our cloth, comes out of all their purſes that weare our cloth, which proving deare to them, will make them leave wearing it, and hinder ſo large a vent as formerly.

And I beleeve it will bee thought more beneficiall for a Common-wealth to vent ſtore of their native commodities, at ſuch lower, but moderate rates, as both Manufactors and Merchants may live thereby, though with leſſe profit, than to ſell a leſſe quantitie at greater rates, the profit of the greater pareell in the whole exceeding

ding that of the leſſer, eſpecially ſo many men more being ſet a work untill we have other employment for them; and the rather it concernes us to ſell good cheap, in that all other Nations now almoſt make cloth of their owne, or other cloathing, which may ſerve more as well: So though it be granted that our moneyes being under-valued by exchange hinders importation and invites exportation, which notwithſtanding through ſeveritie may be in part prevented; yet ſince under-valuing our coyne, wee get in making our moneyes home by exchange, and by that meanes can afford our cloth the cheaper, and ſo vent greater quantitie, the moſt beneficiall ſtate is to be wiſhed for, which perhaps upon due ſcrutinie, may appeare to be this low exchange, in reſpect of the intrinſecall value of our moneyes, the rather for that though they were raiſed but to the pretended juſt paritie and puritie; yet that would likely bring in very little Bullion more, which beſides the loſſe of time in expecting a ſhip to bring it hither, carries the charge of Inſurance with it, and when it is here, I can have but the juſt value at the Mint, and ſo much I ſhould have had for it by exchange, according to the table of rates, beſides uſance which is uſe or intereſt from the date of the bill of exchange, till it be paid in *England*; ſo then the benefit which I might have made by exchange, being taken from me through this table of rates, and no profit to be got by Bullion, the money which would otherwiſe have beene made hither by exchange, will likely be employed in forraine commodities, whereof there comes too great quantitie already.

Beſides, ſtinting the Exchange may ſeeme leſſe needfull through this following conſideration, which is, that as there was anciently no exchange at all by bils, ſo may we preſuppoſe the like caſe at preſent, & find that an Engliſh Merchant abroad may buy forrain commodities for money, or take them in barter againſt Engliſh commodities, without ſo much as a thought or conſideration of the exchange; as thus:

An Engliſh Merchant carries abroad with him an hundreed peeces of yard-broad *Perpetuana's*, which coſt with all charges fortie ſhillings *per* peece, is 200 pound ſtarling: At *Ligorne* hee ſels theſe hundred peeces of *Perpetuana's* at dollers 11 Spaniſh Reals of $\frac{8}{8}$ *per* peece, which make dollers 1100 in all, and knowing that *Florence* black Sattins are a vendible commoditie in *England*, and may likely yeeld him about 11 ſhillings *per* yard, buyes of a Florentine Merchant

chants 183. *li.* ½ of *Florence* black Satins (for plaine Sattins are ſold in *Florence per* pound) at Dollers 6. of ⅝ *per* pound, which amounts to Dollers 1100. the full provenue of his 100 peeces Perpetuanaes, and the 183 *li.* ½ containe about braces 5½ *per* pound, which is braces 1008⅓, whereof braces 4. make yeards 2½ are in all yeards 630. which ſold at 11—*s.* *per* yard, as was ſuppoſed, yeelds 346. *li.*—10 *s.*—0 ſterling; out of which he knew likewiſe the cuſtome and charges of the Sattins were to be deducted: And in like manner he might have put off his 100. peeces of yard broad Perpetuanaes at Dollers 11. *per* piece in Barter or Truck to be paid in *Florence* black Sattins at Dollers 6. *per* pound, which will produce the ſame reckoning about 300. *li.* for his 200. *li.* carried out in Perpetuanaes, ſo that it appeares a Merchant may buy or ſell, and bartar for forraine commodities to this benefit, and bee altogether ignorant of the Exchange; which ignorance 'tis true might have prejudic'd him, as alſo his not knowing the intrinſecall value of thoſe Dollers 1100 of ⅝, and ſo have brought them for *England* in *ſpecie* in caſe of gaine, or that the Exchange would have produced better profit than the Satins: But thus much I conceive may follow hereupon, that we need not ſtand ſo peremptorily upon rating or ſtinting the Exchange, for what concerns all forraine commodities to be bought or bartered for by us abroad, and for what monies wee make home from thence hither by Exchange, 'tis our advantage that the Exchange bee low, and the Kingdome advances more upon the whole proportion of monies made home now, the Exchange being low, than it would get by a part of it, being brought home in Bullion or *ſpecie*, if the Exchange were higher: And wee cannot expect that all ſhould come home in Bullion: for that (preſuppoſing the poſſibilitie) would utterly impoveriſh other countries, and cauſe thoſe Princes, to prohibit the exportation of it, and the verie ſcarcitie it ſelfe, through our exporting it, would make it in a ſhort time ſo hard to come by, and our commodities for the ſame cauſe ſo much beaten downe in price, as the trade without doubt would bee quite abandoned at laſt; for it is our benefit that monies bee plentifull alſo in ſuch Countries where we carrie our commodities to ſell; and ſhall otherwiſe have little encouragement to continue it, ſo that a moderation is to be deſired, and muſt be obſerved in all proceedings, leſt we fare as *Alexander* the great, who having neare

conquered the whole world, wept becauſe there was no more left for him to conquer.

And yet I will farther adde in favour of this Table of rates for ſtinting the Exchange, that ſince the ſtatute permitsus not to take above eight *per cent.* for uſe or intereſt money, which is hoped (for the further quieting of Conſciences and publick good) may yet be brought to 6 *per* 100. in regard as we ſell our commodities cheaper or dearer, according to the long or ſhort time wee give with them, or the partie to whom we ſell, being of great or leſſe credit and eſteeme, and many deſiring to put their money out at intereſt, ſomewhat under the ſtatute, to a ſurer man, than at a higher rate, to one whoſe credit or eſtate is not thought ſo good; evenn ſo is it in Exchanges, and I know not well how it can be helped, yet as the rate of intereſt is ſtinted to allalike, in ſuch manner as none may take above the ſtatute; ſo were it to be wiſhed, that for uſance ſingle, double, or treble, they ſhould not require of any above the rate of ſtatute intereſt, which the Bankers or Exchangers will yet be able to counterminde by putting the price of the Exchange ſo much more in their favour, unleſſe that bee ſtinted too: And this might ſeeme verie facile, if there were nothing in it ſave the prevention of tranſportating monies to and fro, and juſt as many Takers as Deliverers; for then he that deſires nothing but his monies in another place, if he can have as is likely, the juſt value according to the intrinſecall worth by Exchange receives a great accommudation, and the price being once ſetled to remaine conſtant, needs onely look after the ſureſt men to Exchange withall; and a Merchant may likewiſe for ſame reaſon know ſooner what he gets or loſes by ſale of his commodities, wherers now he cannot untill his monie be likewiſe made over through the uncertaintie of the Exchhange, which falling or riſing ſtill varies ſomewhat. But put the caſe I had urgent occaſion to uſe 100 *l.* in *Paris*, and find no body that will take it by Exchange, if it be free for one to export it, or prohibited, but the danger or penaltie not anſwerable to my expected profit, no doubt I may likely be moved to export it in *ſpecie*: but if there be another who has the value of 100 *l.* in *Paris*, and equally deſires his 100 *l.* pound here as I do mine in *Paris*, both of us alike underſtanding the true intrinſecall value of the ſeverall *ſpecies*, it is probable wee two ſhall quickly agree to exchange with one another, according to the reall.

all *par*: But if there be ſundrie Takers and Deliverers, though equall on both ſides, ſome whereof being over-haſty either in deliveting or taking, out of feare their turnes would not otherwiſe be ſerved; this may cauſe the Exchange to riſe or fall above or beneath the *par* on one ſide or other. But if there be more Deliverers than Takers; that is, more monies to be delivered by Exchange from *London*, then returned by Exchange to *London*, and that all yeare long, and for many yeares together, as hath beene moſt certaine in reſpect of *England*, with forraine parts, doubtleſſe the few Takers will have more opportunitye to ſtand upon their termes, in bringing the Exchange downe in their advantage by ſo much undervalutng of our monies: And though this be very obvious to any mans apprehention, yet it may be made further appeare ſo; thus:

'Tis then firſt preſuppos'd upon good ground as you have heard, that the undervalving of our monies by Exchange is prejudiciall to ſuch as are deliverers of money by Exchange in *London*, and takes by Exchange abroad.

Secondly, that theſe Takers abroad, and Deliverers here at home are ſtrangers, is likewiſe preſum'd; and

Thirdly, that out of the ſale and provenue of our goods exported there are great ſummes of mocey returned hither weekly from abroad will as eaſily be granted.

Now ſince this undervaluuing our moneyes by Exchange is onely dammagable to the Deliverers at home, and Takers abroad, and both theſe are ſtrangers, why doe ſtrangers deliver here in *England*, and take abroad by exchange thus to their loſſe? certainly nothing but neceſſity can force them to continue loſers all yeare long for ſundry years together: nor can there be any neceſſitie, had they not ſuch ſtore of monies, which they muſt neceſſarily deliver here, and that in far greater quantitie than wee have return'd us from abroad by ſale of our goods exported.

So then if it be granted, as well it may, that ſtrangers have more monies to ſend away, than we have to bring into the Kingdome, though a Table of Rates were eſtabliſhed as is propounded, yet ſtrangers would have the ſame or greater encouragement ſome times to export monies in *ſpecie*; for whereas at preſent the Exchange being favourable to the Takers at home, and Deliverers abroad which are Engliſh, the Engliſh are moved through

gain to take a good proportion of thoſe monies which the ſtrangers muſt neceſſarily make over by Exchange, or ſend away in *ſpecie*, for they have occaſion to uſe them in other Countries: But this Table being ſetled in dammage and prejudice of the Takers at home, and Deliverers abroad being Engliſh, the Engliſh will forbeare to take at home, or deliuer by Exchange abroad, ſo that whereas ſtrangers did formerly export onely a part of their monies, they will now be conſtrained to convey away the whole: wherefore I will onely adde, that though this Table be ſetled for Exchanging, yet ſince there may, and that likely enough, as great neceſſity befall ſtrangers to export monies notwithſtanding, it will be altogether as requiſite to practice exacteſt diligence alongſt the Coaſt, and ſtricteſt penalties for preventing exportation of them; and if it prove by this meanes to be ſecured, then may this ſtinting Table be verie well forborne, in that the ſting lies in the exportation of our monies, and the undervaluing them is the benefit of the Engliſh, who are the Takers at home, and Deliverers abroad, and by the low Exchange at home, and high Exchange abroad enabled to ſell their Cloth ſo much better cheap, and conſequently. venting the greater quantitie, at laſt win the whole trade from other Nations.

Since then as the ſcarcitie of every commodity makes it more to be eſteemed, and yet money through want or plentie raiſes or deminiſhes the price of all things; in ſame manner doth it predominate the Exchange; for as the Takers and Deliverers of money by Exchange doe over-ballance one another, ſo doth the Exchange riſe or fall accordingly, as is demonſtrated by daily experience; and ſtrangers being found thus repleniſhed with monies to cauſe the undervaluing of our *ſpecies* by Exchange, if to ripe judgements and underſtandings it appeare ſo prejudiciall to the State as is alledged, which for my part I doe not as yet apprehend, (though I confeſſe it invite the exporthtion of our monies, ſince diligence may reclaime it in the greateſt part) certainly the onely remedy muſt be to take away the cauſe, which furniſhes them with ſuch ſtore of monies, and that is by preventing the great Revenues they make of intereſt monies in *England*, which continually they draw from hence to furniſh their occaſions, no otherwiſe than everie man doth for receiving of his Rents in one Countrie which hee intendeth to ſpend in another: and ſecondly, by raiſing the

cuſtomes

cuſtomes of ſtrangers goods, eſpecially inwards, both *Spaniards*, *Germanes*, *Italians*, and thoſe of the Low Countries, all ſo much as may keep them from boinging in ſuch qnantities as formerly.

Others are of opinion, the exportation of our moneys might be hindred by raiſing them in *Denomination*, or embaſing the allay; but if other Princes doe the like, wee are ſtill where wee were: beſides, this would encourage many private Mint-Maſters in *England*, and Strangers to bring it from abroad, though not altogether ſo much as braſſe money, yet povertie and ruine would be the end of it; but had this latter motion taken effect, and greater *Species* beene once made currant, what through counterfeiting at home, and importing from abroad, it would in probabilitie ſo exorbitantly have encreaſed, untill braſſe kettles had beene more worth than braſſe money, by how much the workmanſhip of kettles is more coſtly.

Then would a full period have beene put to trading, and no dealing or exchanging heard of, ſave barely to ſuffice nature, and ſo remained untill the braſſe money had ceene called in againe, which then muſt needs be grnwne ſo common, as not eſteemed or accounted a reward worth working for.

But if this over-ballancing of trade were granted, and merchandizing exchange found to bee ſo dammageable to the Commonwealth as is alleaged, ſince certainly they cannot be well prevented otherwiſe, it will ſerve exceeding appoſitely to enforce the burden of this diſcourſe, which is:

That unleſſe the fiſhing imployment and East India *traffique be followed and enlarged, other Nations will gaine upon us, our trade infallibly decline daily, and the whole State with the ſame ſpeede and paces poſt on to poverty and utter ruine.*

What greater encouragement can poſſibly bee expected? The treaſure of the fiſh employment is knowne to yeeld millions yeerly

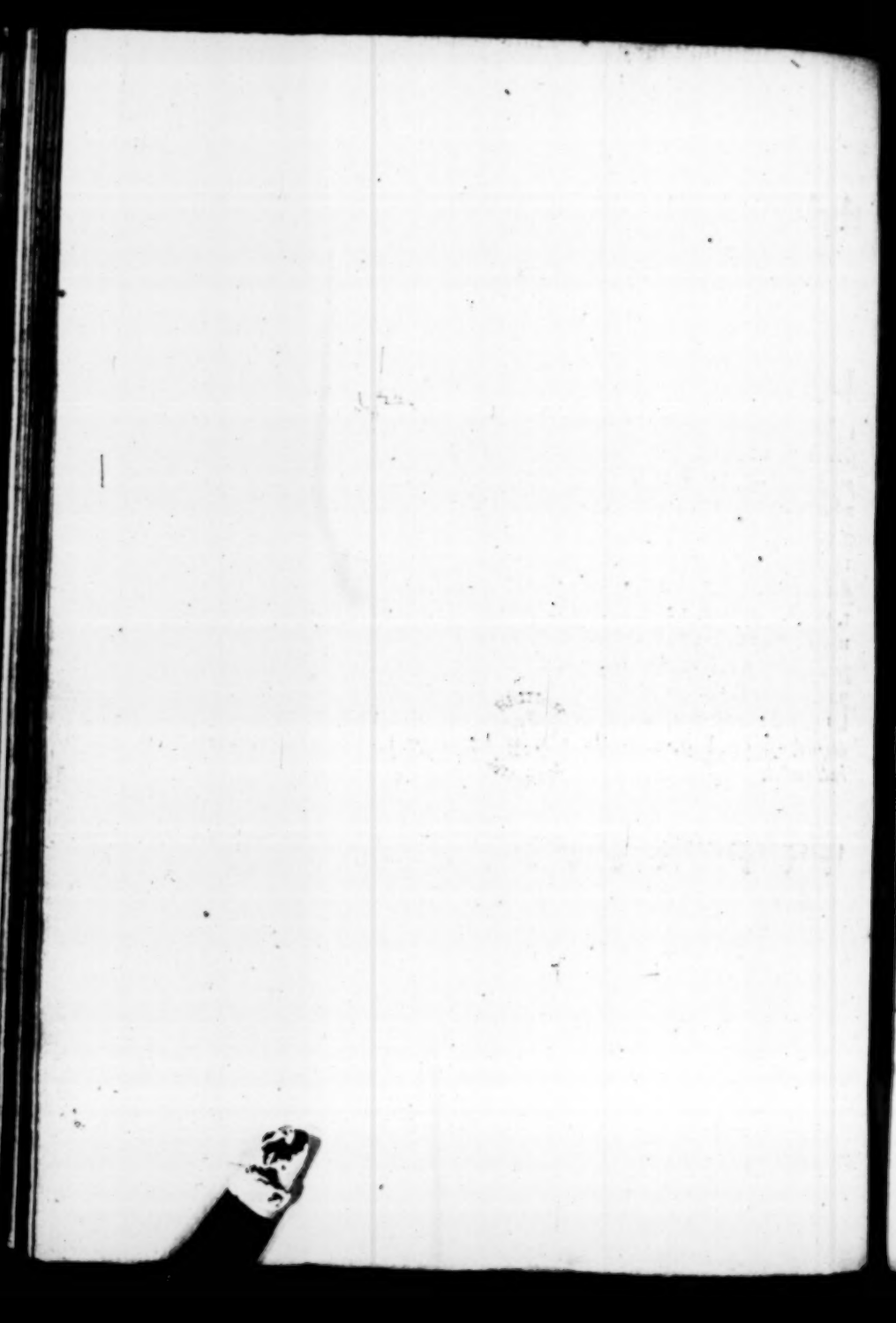
ly (by our permiſſion) unto others; and from the *Eaſt Indies*, beſides the venting of our owne commodities, bringing in their Spices and others hither, and the trading up and downe in the Countrey, to exceeding great benefit, wee may in time hope for all ſilver and gold that ever came out of the Weſt, or any other parts; for into *Turkie* we have ſeene it carried daily, thence for *Perſia*, and other Eaſterne Quarters, but never returne back againe. And for my part, however they are ſayd to eſteeme theſe of *Europe* one eyed, and all other Nations elſe quite blind, in compariſon of themſelves, I cannot think them ſo beatified in this world, but that wee might through induſtrie find out ſomewhat which they want, and ſo be able to furniſh them; or that they be only covetous, and ſo reprobately admirers of the God *Mammon*, as they might not in time be prevailed upon to exchange him for the only Deitie.

All theſe particulars, ſome wherof deſerve large tracts & volumes of *Encomiums* & encouragements, I have only pointed at, though longer than I intended, to the end this ſupreme Aſſembly might reflect thereon, and enforming themſelves more at large, from ſuch as can exactly give directions, in due time provide for all, to the honour of his Majeſtie, wealth and ſafetie of theſe Kingdomes, and perpetuall renowne of their deep wiſdomes, to which Poſteritie will attribute ſo flouriſhing an eſtate, next unto God Almightie, whoſe infinite goodneſſe I ſhall continually implore for their proſperous proceedings, untill He pleaſe to bleſſe them with a thrice happie concluſion to King and State, and Both in One, *Amen.*

FINIS.

Errata.

PAg. 1. line but two, for *foure*, read *force*. for *Chackmate*, read *Checkmate*. p. 4. l. 2. f. *ſafeties*, r. *ſea-fights*. p 4. l. 14 f. *furniſhed*, r. *furthered*. p 10. l. 21. f. *compaſſed by ſelling*, r. *compaſſed but by ſelling*. p. 12. l. 7. f. *reported*, r. *exported*. p 14. l. 1. f. *proprietie*, r. *proſperitie*. p. 16. l 8. f. *valley*, r. *vallew*. p. 19. l 15. f. *whac*, r. *what*. p. 22. l. 23. f. *mucſt*, r. *much*. l. 26. f. *of the ſtate*, r. *of ſtate*. p. 24. l. 8. f. *heve*, r. *have*. p. 33. *l.* 36 f. *rareſt*, r. *ſureſt*. p. 34. l. 13. f. *aſſuring*, r. *iſſuing*. p. 35. l. 27. f. *thou*, r. *then*. p. 36. l. 18. f. *ſtid*, r. *ſaid*. p. 37. l. 17. f. *which*, r. *what*. p. 39. l. 4. f. *pence a peece*, r. *pence*. p ib. l. 12. f. *foure*, r. *ſortie ſeven*. p. ib. l. 30. f. *with*, r. *which*. p. 20. l. 25. f. *that only*, r. *that not only*. p. ib. l. 40. f. *rei*, r. *pecuuia*. p 41. l. 10. f. *to Wards*, r. *towards*. p. ib. l. 17. f. *care*, r. *caſe*. p. ib. l. 29. f. *than*, r. *rather than*. p. 43. l. 12. f. *read*, r. *ſend*. p. ib. l. 13. f. *Schoole-maſters*, r. *Poſt-maſters*. p. 44. l. 12. f. *prevent*, r. *redeeme*. p. 50. l 9. f. *that*, r. *the*. p. 51. l. 17. f. *ballanc'd*, r. *over-ballanc'd*.



THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN ATHERTON LORD BISHOP Of WATERFORD AND LYSMORE, within the Kingdome of *Ireland*, borne neare Bridgwater in *Somersetshire*.

Who for Incest, Buggery, and many other enormous crimes, after having lived a vicious life, dyed a shamefull death, and was on the fifth of December last past, hanged on the Gallows Greene at Dublin, and his man *John Childe* being his Proctor, with whom he had committed the buggery, was hangd in March following at *Bandon Bridges*, condemned thereunto at the Assises holden at Corke.



London Printed, 1641.

THE SHAMEFVLL ENDE, Of

Bishop *Atherton*, and his Proctor *Iohn Chile*



COnfuſion give my thoughts once leave to be
Exempted from thy lawleſſe Tyranny:
If for the ſpace of but one poore halfe houre,
O give me leave to ſit in quiets Bower,
That I with patience may delineate,
In lines of life this Prelates lewdid ſtate,
Who firſt in England did his life receive,
His education Oxford did him give,
Thence to a Benefice preferd he was,
In which he vitiouſly his time did paſſe,
And although married to a handſome wife,
bleſt with ſweet children th'only joy of life,
Yet ſo farre baſeneſſe did in him prevaile,
That unto Luſt he himſelfe ſet to ſaile;
Defloured Virgins, Marriage beds defilde,
With many other vitious crimes too vilde
To be conceivd, beyond all meaſure proud,
Impudence and ambition did him ſhroud.
Amongſt his flock he ſow'd ſeditious ſtrife,
Set friend 'gainſt friend, husband againſt wife.
So that 'mongſt many he did live alone,
And loving none, beloved was of none.
Laſtly through pride, high fare, and luſtfull life,
Inceſt committed with the Siſter of his wife,
For which he ſued his pardon, and then fled
To Ireland, where a worſer life he led,

There through inſinuation did obtaine,
The Parſonage of S. *Iohn*, became Chaplaine
Vnto that honored Lord and worthy Peere,
Lord Chancellor there, Lord Viſcount *Loftus* here,
By whoſe aſſiſtance he did eke require,
To be Sub-deane of Chriſt-church, one ſtep higher,
Whoſe goodneſſe for to guerdon he did prove,
A *Iudas*, and betrayd him for his love,
Brought him into diſgrace with that great Sir,
Who brookt no Rivall nor Competitor,
Straffords ſterne *Earle*, a man of eminent hight,
Knowledge, and wit, had it beene governd right.
Courage and reſolution to thoſe high
Imployments he had given him, but why
Should he his merits baniſh and ſo dye,
Imping his wings with falſe felicity?
Winning on him, by him he was preferd
Vnto the Biſhoprick of Waterford,
And of Lyſmore, where he did five yeares Lord it
In ſuch ſort, as all good men much abhord it.
But in the Interim marke what did befall,
If ſo he had had any grace at all,
At which he aimd, but not the grace of God,
But at ſuch Grace as had our Graceles *Laud*
He ſurely warned was to mend his life,
By his owne Siſter Maſter Leakies wife,
Which Maſter Leakies Mother being dead,
And in her life-time conſcious how he led
His luſtfull life, her Ghoaſt in gaſtfull wiſe
Did oft appeare before her Siſters eyes,
But ſhe feare-ſtrucken durſt not ſpeake unto it,
Till oft appearing forced her to doe it:

Then

Then thus ſhe ſpake, Mother in Law what cauſe
You from your reſt, to my unreſt thus drawes?
Who anſwered, daughter tis the wicked life
Your Brother leads, warne him to mend his life;
If not, then plainely tell him tis decreed,
He ſhall be hangd, bid him repent with ſpeede:
Then ſhall my reſtleſſe ſpirit be at reſt,
And not till then; Thus vaniſht. ſhe addreſt
Herſelfe for travaile, Into Ireland went
With this ſad meſſage unto him was ſent:
Which how he tooke to heart may plaine appeare
By the ſlight anſwer he returned her.
What muſt be, ſhalbe: If I muſt, I muſt dye,
Mariage, and hanging, come by deſtiny.
Thus ſcoft her counſell, ſent her back, and when
She was returnd, he grew farre viler then
He was before, if Viler man may be,
For one bad Act before, committed three.
Here Lord like Prelates, two things I propound,
Or leave your Seas, or in them your vice Dround.
If ye will Biſhops be, be ſuch as was
That Godly Timothy, make him your glaſſe,
Shun avarice, ſhun extortion, ſhun vaine pride,
Shun hate, diſſimulation, let your Guide
Be godlineſſe. Shun Luſt, Shun Buggary,
Shun Inceſt, Rape, and ſhun Adultery.
Be practizers of every honeſt thing,
Be meeke like Chriſt your Biſhop Lord and King,
So may you live belov'd, and dye to life,
Not by the Axe or by the hangmans knife,
A halter as this Biſhop here hath done,
When being hangd your ſelves doe ſcarce bemone:

And Proctors be ye warnd by Iohn Childs fall,
Leaſt that his fate betide unto you all.
Luſt, Avarice, Extortion of Fees
Cauſ'd him at London bridge his life to leeſe.
Y'are alike guilty: let not the ſame thing
Draw you like him to Heaven in a ſtring.
Now to the Biſhop we returne agen,
With whoſe loath'd Crimes I loath to fowle my pen,
A ſtrict Lyſt being taken of each whore
He was knowne to uſe, amounts to ſixtie fower.
Nor was it out of frailty he did ſin
In this vile ſort, That might excuſ'd have bin.
For when that nature faild all theſe to pleaſe,
To provoke Luſt he uſ'd Cantharides,
Nor did this Bravo as ſome Lechers uſe
When they have acted ſinne, ſeeke to excuſe
The ſame by mincing or a flat deniall,
He ſcornd ſuch baſeneſſe, let him make a triall
Of any neighbours wife, as oft he did,
He would not have his dealing to be hid.
He'd rather Iuſtifie the act for good,
As thus, twas done, to purifie the blood.
Or if a barren wombe he chanc'd to prove,
Twas cauſe he did not the Stone Collick love.
Some women he did doe in Charitie
And ſome becauſe they uſ'd good Cookery,
Knew how to pleaſe his pallat as his bed,
So that at once his Corpes and Luſt he fed.
Thus many ſalves he had for many ſores, (whores.
But ſtill the cure was wrought by the art of his
If not, t'aduance his Luſt this Luſtfull Elfe
Had tricks enough whereby to helpe himſelfe.

A man

A man well knowne in Waterford had neede
To borrow A hundred pounds, in hope to ſpeed
Vnto this Reverend Lord he did addreſſe
Himſelfe, and his ſute, which thus he did expreſſe:
My Lord I oft have taſted of your favour
And promiſes to doe me good, which rather
Inducеth me unto this bould requeſt.
Your Lordſhip wilbe pleas'd to make me bleſt
With the Loane of 100. pound which Ile repay
Within a month or elſe on any day
Your Lordſhip ſhall appoint. This courteous Lord
Anſwer'd, Sir you ſhall have it on your word
And more to doe you good, but let your wife
Be preſent, leaſt there ſhould be any ſtrife,
If you ſhould faile for to repay the ſame,
Or I for breach of payment ſhould make claime.
He grants, and goes, ſhee comes, the mony's ready,
So is my Lord, And the poore Cuckold's needy.
Sir ſaith my Lord, though't be an intire ſumme,
It is odd mony that to me is come.
Amongſt it all ther's but one piece of gould,
That with the reſt not eaſie to be tould,
Goe draw it out within my ſtudy dore,
Ile truſt you there, but will not many more.
But cauſe your credits crackt, ile keep the Key,
The dore being lockt, mean while your wife ſhal ſtay
And talke with me: tis granted, in his ſeat
The Biſhop mounts, and does the well knowne feat.
Another when his Lordſhips watch digreſt,
As he himſelfe did alwayes, to a feaſt
He invites himſelfe: which ended, he requeſts
The Goodman of the houſe (there being no Gueſts)

To

To ſpoyle his ſport) That he would ſet his watch
At his Sunne Dyall, at which he doth catch,
Proud of ſuch favour, goes without denial,
Meane while another's ſet by his wives noone dyall.
Theſe are but tricks of youth, now arme your eares
With patience, for to heare of pallid feares:
Suppoſe a Devill from th'infernall Pit,
More Monſterlike, then ere was Devill yet,
Contrary to courſe, taking a male fiend
To Sodomize with him, ſuch was the mind
Of this Lord *Biſhop*, he did take a Childe
By name, not yeares, acting a ſinne ſo vilde,
As is forenam'd; this Childe a Proctor too,
Nor him alone, but his Parrator he muſt doe;
Theſe and a Thouſand like theſe he hath done,
*Be*ſides endeavouring to eclipſe the Sunne
Of this our Skie, by making Charles waine draw
Sublunary, by ſubverting the Law
Fundamentall, and putting in the place,
Commiſſion high, Popes Canons, Great Lauds Grace.
For the ſubverting of ſuch Devilliſh plots,
From ſtaining of our Kingdome with ſuch blots,
For th'happy raigne of our moſt Sacred King,
And thoſe that from that Royall Stocke doe ſpring,
For Parliament, and health of Martiall men,
All Loyall Subjects cry with me, *Amen.*

FINIS.

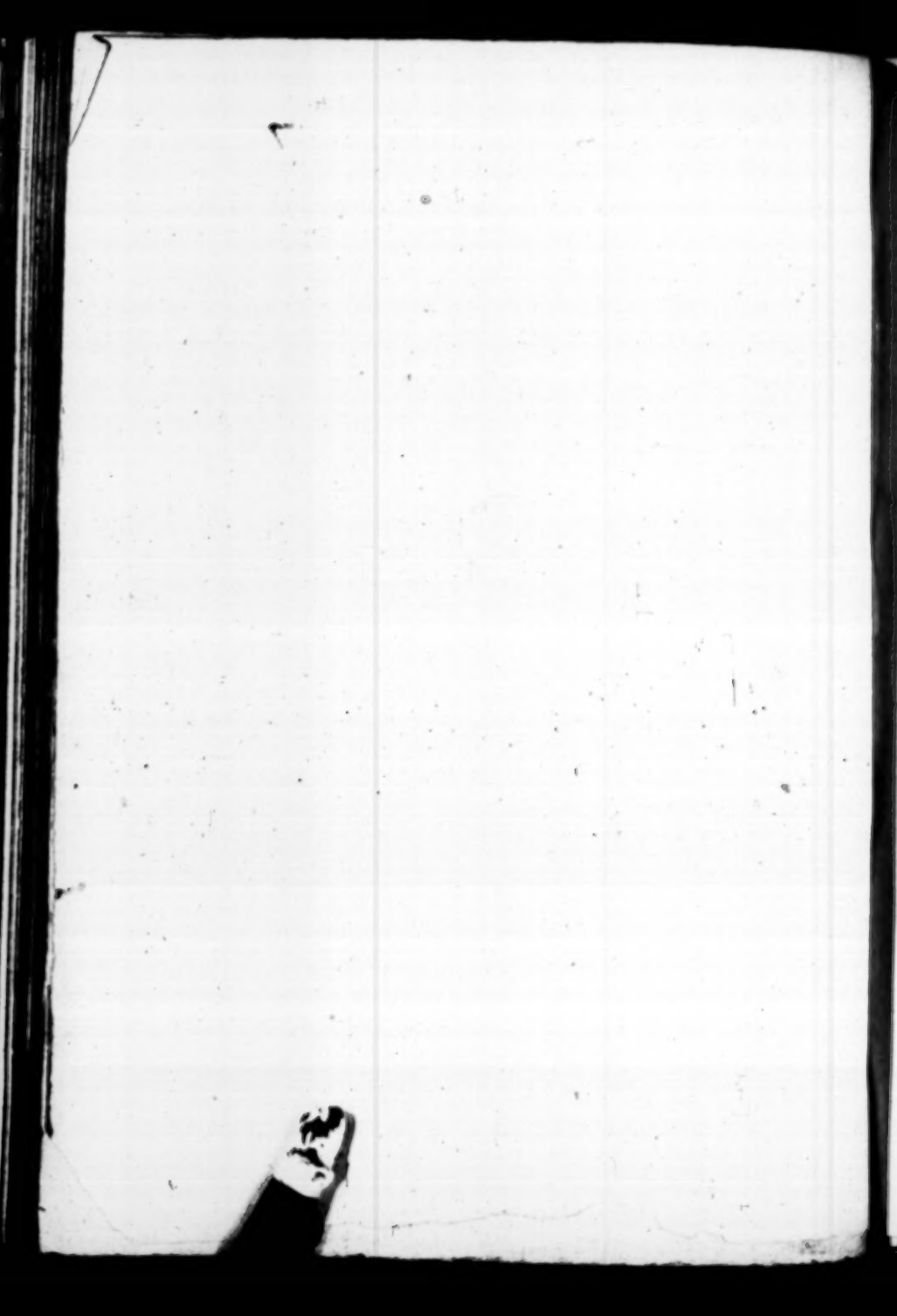
A New plot diſcovered,

practiſed by an aſſembly of Papiſts, upon Sunday being the 25. day of *Iuly*, for the deliverance of *William Waller*, alias *Walker*, alias *Ward*, alias *Slater*, a Jeſuite, which was hang'd, drawn, and quartered, upon Monday the 26 of *July*, revealed by *John Hodgskins* a Porter, by a Letter,

1641.



Printed, Anno 1641.



IT is unknowne to very few in *England*, what plots by Papists have been hatcht, but by the assistance of our great God, never have taken effect, but have beene broken in the egge, and the setters of them utterly destroyed: to make repetition of them at this present, I shall not need; *Campian* that eminent Saint now canonized amongst the popish crew, whose learning, the best learned men of *England* have admired, and had it been employed to a right use, would have beene registred amongst the works of those Scholers which have beene esteemed of greatest account, but it was too manifest approved that the employment of it was to blinde ignorant men, that the Devill with the more ease might have led them to his Kingdome; but what was *Campians* reward, the Gallows? for hee was condemned for a Traytor, and was hang'd, drawn, and quartered, in the most happy Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, of blessed memory. O what a damned plot

was there invented alſo, in the Raigne of the moſt wiſe ſecond *Salomon*, King *Iames*; the powder plot I mean, which was intended for the deſtruction of King, State, and Communalty, in the time of ſitting at Parliament; but God, *Englands* ſole Defender, revealed it, and the Conſpirators caught in their owne net, *Faux* going to give the fatall blow was apprehended, and hee with the reſt of his helliſh company paid that which their treacherie did deſerve. What the Papiſts intents have been in theſe our times, may be judged, by their late preſumption and pride, which was feared to be maintained by ſome of the Clergie, which ſhould rather have bin piercing ſwords to wound them, then chief actors in ſpurring them on: for when Shepherds goe aſtray themſelves, how ſhall the flock live in ſafety? how ſhall the ſheep feed upon the wholſome plains, when the Sheepherd leads them into unknowne Wildernesſes? but this ſoare alſo, by Gods aſsiſtance, and the Parliaments wiſdome, of late hath bin indifferent well cured; but yet ſtill doe ſome ſcabbed ſheep remayne amongſt the pure flocks, two of them lately were ſeparated from amongſt them, thoſe Jeſuits, I meane, which were lately apprehended, who for the ambition they had to be canonized Martyrs, after their exile, notwithſtanding the Kings command, preſumptuouſly returned back again, to follow their old practice, in which they had ſpent ſo much ſtudie, ſeducing the Kings liege people: one of them is alreadie executed, the other now lies in Newgate: but the

plot

plot which was intended to reſcue that old Prieſt *William Waler*, is the Theame which I am to treat on, which thus begins.

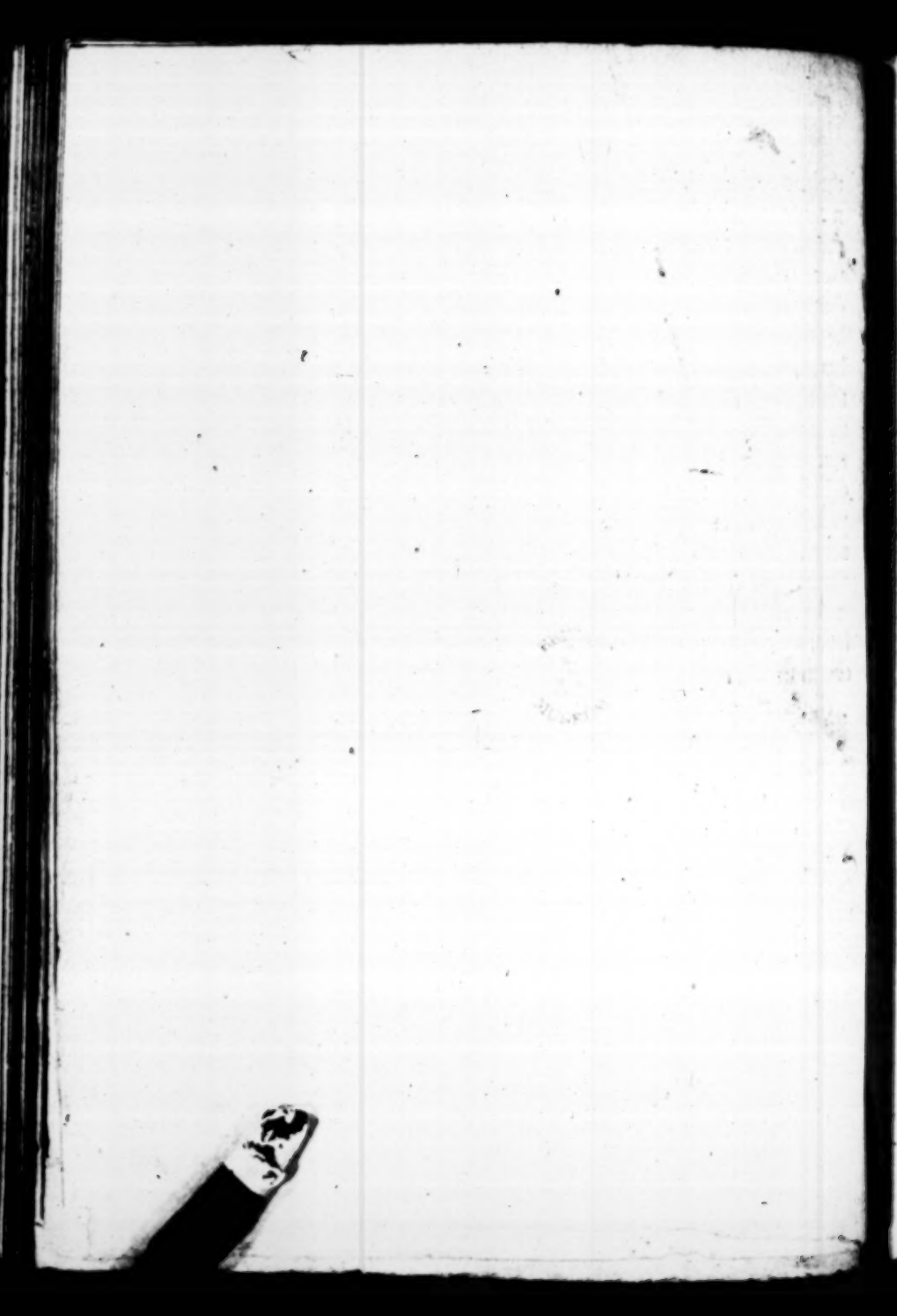
Upon Saturday, being the foure and twentieth of *July*, was this Prieſt condemned, which being divulged amongſt his fellow Recuſants, upon Sunday they a great number gathered together to the ſumme of threeſcore, neer *Curſitors* Ally in *Chancery* Lane, a place, where the now dead Prieſt lodged, to finde out ſome way to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies, the bloudy Heretikes; they long did hold counſell, one ſaid hee would goe as to viſit him in Newgate, and change apparell with him, and ſo let him eſcape, and take his puniſhment himſelfe, for hee ſaid it was piety to redeem a Prieſt, though with the loſſe of his own life, they all condiſcended to his propoſition, and after Maſſe being ſung, and a company of papiſticall prayers ſaid over him, they bid him goe and be reſolute, not fearing the malice of Heretikes, which could never be able to do him any harm, in ſo much as he was innocent of thoſe crimes which the Prieſt was condemned for, and by ſo dying he ſhould be quitted of purgatory, and go preſently to Heaven, and enjoy the preſence of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, which words being ſaid, they gathered money amongſt themſelves and gave it unto him, charging him to be charitable to his brother priſoners; having received the money, away goes this fellow whoſe name was *Ward*, one of *Wallers* by-names, by which ſometimes he was called: this *Ward* being come

come nigh Newgate, hee began to queſtion with himſelfe, why hee ſhould run reſolutely unto death before hee had deſerved it, the Prieſt ſaid hee is fourſcore yeers of age, and I ſcarce forty, long hee cannot live, as for my part I may doe *Rome* much ſervice yet: poore I was, which my brethren have remedied, by furniſhing mee with this money, they bid me be charitable to my fellow priſoners, ſo I will, when I go to priſon, in the mean-while, Charity begins firſt at home: thus meditating with himſelf, he goes to a friends houſe and writes a Letter to his brethren what thoughts came unto him, and ſure hee was that they were ſent from above, for an Angell hee ſaid ſtood by him, and bade him flie ſpeedily to *Rome*, and make the brethren acquainted with the Martyrdome of their brother *Waller*, who in time ſhould ſufficiently revenge his death; the Letter being writ, hee met with one *John Hodgskins* a Porter, whom hee knew very well, and gave him ſixe pence to carrie the Letter to ſuch a place, the Porter told him hee would; away went the Papiſt, and away went the Porter, the porter had not gone far but hee forgot the place, no ſuperſcription being wrote, for feare of the diſcovery of their meeting, upon the Letter. And the porter being greedy to get ſomewhat of him to whom the letter was to be delivered, very cunningly broke up the Letter, to ſeeke for his name if it were there, which to find he read the whole letter, which being done hee cloſed it up again, and makes directly towards the place of their

their meeting, thinking to reveal them all, or elſe receive a good reward for the concealement of them. But when hee came to the place his hopes were fruſtrated, for they were all gone before he came, their walking place was empty, wherefore he went home and to a gentleman ſhewed the letter, from whoſe mouth upon Tueſday being the 27 of *July*, I had the relation, which I thought fit gentle reader to commit to the preſſe, that all might know with what policy the Devill deludes ſuch ſimple men, by croſſing their expectations. It was a very likely matter, was it not? that any one ſhould, being a ſtranger, have admittance to the preſence of a Traytor having ſcarce a day to live; and then was it not an honeſtly for *Ward* to write to them that an Angell had commanded him to fly to *Rome*,

His Letter conſiſted of that which all their Religion doth, falſehood, for were I but intended to write more then a pamphlet, I would declare ſuch damned fictions which are holden as a truth amongſt them, would ſtrike the Reader in aſtoniſhment, which to doe at this time I ſhall not, Farewell.

FINIS.



8

THE COPPY OF A LETTER

Sent from IOHN Lord FINCH, late Lord *Keeper*, to his Friend Dr. COZENS:

WITH

A Commemoration of the Favours Dr *Cozens* Shewed him in his VICE-CHANCELLORSHIP.

UNTO

VVhich is annexed a good Admonition to PROTESTANTS.

Printed in the yeare 1641

Printed in the years 1676.

A COPPY OF a LETTER ſent from IOHN Lord FINCH, to Doctor COZENS.

Dr. *Cozens*,

THe Quotidian familiarity of our Religion, did heretofore contabulate our mindes together, and did at this preſent time ſuggeſt mee to recall our affinity. And although the impetuous novercation of ambiguous Fortune, have digeſted you from that feare of Honour, to which you were promoted, yet I have not buried our former acquaintance in oblivion, but have beene very ſenſible of your miſery. For you know I my ſelfe was ſubject to the ſame Deſtinie, and if I had ſtayed any longer, they would have put the poore *Finch* in the Cage, and have made me ſing Prick-Song there; but I had more wit then to ſtay, for I did preſuppoſe that there was a tempeſtuous ſtorme ariſing. And kinde Doctor, if you had taken my courſe, you might

have likewiſe eſcaped the danger that now hangs over your head. But I deplore the viciſſitude of your malignant fate; yet I remember that Apothegmaticall ſentence of the *Lyrian Horace*, *Vt ſementem feceris, ita metes.* For had not you ſowne ſuch Antichriſtian ſeeds of Popiſh introduction into the Church, you ſhould never have reaped this harveſt of miſery. For my part, I was Eagle-winged, and as ſoone as I perceived that Limetwigges were layd for me, I did erect my ſelfe, and by the expanſion of my nimble wings eſcaped thoſe ſnares into which you are fallen. But I beſeech you Sir, let me recall our inveterate Counſell by the freſh recordation of memory: What, do's your Chappell retaine its former ornaments? Do's the Crucifixe remaine? and doe the Pictures, and graven Images adorne it ſtill, as in my time? Do's the Altar ſtand ſtill? or doe not *nefarious* perſons wiſh you ſacrificed thereon? Do's the Triple Crowne which you erected in Saint *Maries*, illuſtrate ſtill the vulgar ſpeculation? Sir, if the tumultuary imprecations of the Vulgar doe oppoſe you, yet macerate not your ſelfe, neither let paſſion conquer your captive thoughts; for tis a true Apologization, *Quod tibi facere non vis, alteri ne feceris.* But you did contaminate that ſentence too much, by the unjuſt exulceration of Eccleſiaſticall Innovations: Remember me to the Arch-biſhop,

and

and desire him to put my good counsell in execution, that he shall Excommunicate both Houses, before they divorce him from his Spouse; but (alas) I feare his Cannons do requoile, and his Founders miscarrie, therfore let them be new Cast. Remember me likewise to Bishop *Wren*, and bid him straine for it, for he will be made to sing a note above *Elie*. Remember me likewise to *Kilbert* and *Abell*, who (I thinke) are grown weary of two pound in a Tun, but I thinke if their Hogsheads were pierced, that you would have wine at six-pence, and twelve-pence againe. Remember me to Iudge *Crawly*, and tell him that I wonder that *Noverint universi* should condemne him with such celerity. Remember me likewise to the Gentleman in the cut-finger Gloves, and let him know that I understand that *Casus nostet venit ad non suite jam*.—— Remember me to the Physitians, for they have strong stomakes, and can digest a summe without feare of prejudice of censorious Momus. Remember me to all Lawyers, and tell them that I understand their Obligation is contrary to their condition. I thinke their lines had some pernitious diseas, either the running of the reines, or the French pox, for they straddled as wide as any French man. Remember me lastly to all the Taylers, and tell them that they have better luck then Pontifi-

cians, for they doe daily invent new fashions, and are commended for it, for which you are taxed. But loving Doctor, perhaps my pen doe seeme too remisse, wherefore I will contract my selfe in a compendiary Epitomy of my thankes unto you, for all your favours shewne mee since the last time I was at the Vniversitie, for leting me kisse the Virgin Maryes Picture, and the Popes-head, and for innumerable other Curtesies, all which if I should expresse, I should not only dilate my selfe in a too deveous expansion, but likewise transgresse the limits of your patience: therfore the few admonitions, and salubritie of Councel which I derove unto you briefly shal be these: First, That whither soever the tempestuous Winde hurrieth, you would remember to keepe your head warme. Secondly, Although you climed up to that Honour upon other mens necks, have a great care that you come downe with your own. Reject not my good Councell, neither contemne my affectionate desire. Thus beseeching you to see the Remembrance to my Friends fully exeeuted, I commend you to Destinie, desiring you to accept the will of,

Your ingaged and obsequious friend
IOHN FINCH.

Good councel to PROTESTANTS.

SInce Pontificians cannot have their plots,
Full executed (whom the righteous *Scots*
Doe utterly deteſt) ſince Papiſts all,
Shall by the ſacred ſword of Iuſtice fall;
Let *Proteſtants* Religion true profeſſe,
And fully from impietie digreſſe:
For loe! Here *Baal's* irreligious Prieſts
Nefarious Prelates, and all Atheiſts,
Are now abjected by the *Parliament*,
Whom GOD for Malefactors puniſhment,
Hath pioufly elected, and hath made (Trade,
Them Authors, Honeſt men that in their
May proſperouſly flouriſh from baſe fees,
Projects, and impious Monopolees,
With their exactions which did lately make,
The thred-bare Commons of the land to ſhak
Learne therefore by their puniſhment to hate,
All wicked Hereſie, which now of late,
Did overſpread the Church, with Cannons
With Ceremonies, and a Popiſh face, (baſe,
Of Innovations, but to him above,
Be thankes immortall to Tri-une *Iehove*;
Let us extoll his all-diſpoſing power,
Who all our enemies will thus devoure.

Falſe

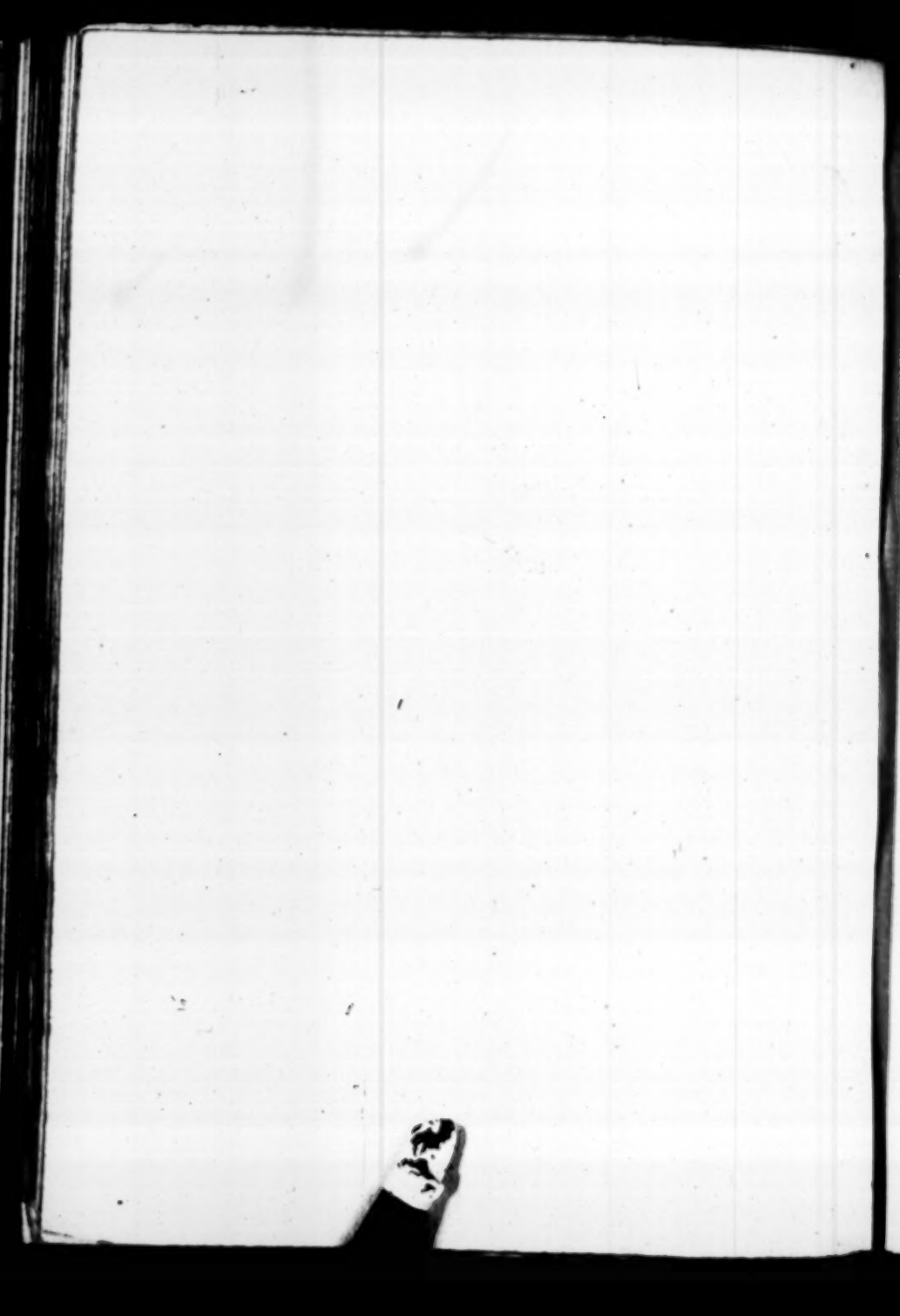
False Iesuits repent, false Prelates mourne,
False Doctors houle, who heretofor did scorne
True Doctrine, bewayl the numerous crimes
Which ye did introduce in former times:
But to the Protestant this I will say,
Prophets and Teachers false do not obey;
Confirme thy faith, and then if Envy durst
Presume to snarle, let envy snarle her worst;
Yet still confirme thy faith, and do not yeeld,
As a weake Coward to her sanguine field.
Stand firme: do, let her fret, fume, fome & fall,
Stark mad, yet stand thou firm, whilst in her
Of malice the base Bedlam taint & stink (gall
In her polluted and contagious sinke
Of all iniquitie, if she chance to harme, (firm
Thy stedfastnesse, yet stand thou still more
For God who pulleth down each wicked throne
Will set up true Religion more di vine.

FINIS.

9

THE COPPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO THE LOWER HOVSE OF PARLIAMENT TOUCHING DIVERS GRIEVANCES AND INCONVENIENCES OF THE STATE &c.

LONDON
Printed by *Iohn Dawson* for *Thomas Walkley*,
1641.



THE COPPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO THE LOWER House of Parliament touching divers greivances and inconveniences of the State &c.

To my Noble friends of the lower Houſe of Parliament.

IF my Country had held me worthy to have ſerved in this Parliament, I had now beene made a member of your lower houſe as formerly I have beene in ſundry other Parliaments, but how unkindly ſo ever ſhee dealeth with me, I will ever ſhew my thankfulneſſe to her, and deliver by way of obſervation what I have heretofore learned in that grave and wiſe aſſembly for admoniſhment to the elder, and a pathway for the younger to walke in.

Parliaments in my time have beene wonte to take up ſome ſpace at the firſt meeting to ſettle the Houſe and to determine of unlawfull elections, and in this point they never had greater cauſe to bee circumſpect, then at this time for by an abuſe lately crept in, there is introduced a cuſtome which if it bee not foreſeene and prevented will bee great derogation to the honour and a weakening to the power of your houſe, where the law giveth a freedome to Corporations to elect Burgeſſes and forbiddeth any indirect courſe to bee taken in their election many of the Corporations are become ſo baſe minded and timerous, that they will not hazard the indignation of a Lord Lieutenants letter, who underhand ſtickes not to threaten them with the charge of a Muſket or a horſe at a Muſter, if that he hath not the election of the Burgeſſes, and not they themſelves.

And commonly thoſe that the Lords recommend are ſuch as deſire it for protection, or are ſo ignorant of the place they ſerve for, as that there being an occaſion to ſpeake of the Corporation for which they are choſen, they have asked their Neighbours ſitting by whether it were a Sea or Land Towne. If you ſeeke not to prevent this kind of choyce, theſe miſchiefes will follow:

1. The freedome of the Subject will bee leſſened.

2. The priviledge of Corporations will bee abrogated, men outlawed, and law breakers, will bee law makers.

3. The voices of your Houſe ſhall bee at the diſpoſe of the Lords of the upper Houſe, and the aſſembly of the Commons will be made needeleſſe.

Gen-

Gentlemen of farre remote Countries, may ſpare their labour to come up, for there we ſhall bee contradicted with two yeares, and that by ſuch men, if they be examined, and are not liable to taxes, Subſidies, Loanes, or other payments, they ſhall enjoy their ends, to wit liberty and freedome, and the Lords diſpoſe of ſuch lawes as they ſhall purpoſe.

The next thing that is required, is liberty of ſpeech, without which Parliaments have little force or power; ſpeeches begets doubts, and reſolves them, and doubtes in Schooles get underſtanding, he that doubtes much asketh often, and learnes much, and he that feares the worſt, ſooneſt prevents a miſchiefe.

This priviledge of ſpeech is antiently granted by the teſtimony of *Philip Comines* a ſtranger who preferres our Parliaments, and the freedome of the Subjects in them, above all other aſſemblies, which freedome if it bee broken or diminiſhed is negligently loſt, ſince the dayes of *Comines*.

If freedome of ſpeech ſhould bee prohibited when men with modeſty make repetition of the grievances & enormities of the Kingdome, when men ſhall deſire reformation of wrongs & injuries committed, & have no relation of evill thought to his Majeſty. But with open heart and zeale expreſſe their dutifull & reverent reſpect to him and his ſervice: I ſay if this kind of liberty of ſpeech be not allowed in time of Parliament, they will extend no farther then to quarter Seſſions, & their meetings and aſſemblies will be unneceſſary for all meanes of diſorder new crept in, and all remedies and redreſſes will be quite taken away.

As it is no manners to conteſt with the King in his election of Councellors and Servants (for Kings

obey no men) but their lawes, ſo were it a great negligence and part of treaſon for a ſubject not to bee in ſpeech againſt the abuſes wrongs & offences that may bee occaſioned by perſons in authority, what remedy can bee expected from a Prince to the Subjects if the enormities of his Kingdome be concealed from him, or what King ſo religious or juſt in his owne nature, that may not hazard the loſſe of the hearts of his Subjects without this liberty of ſpeech in Parliament. For ſuch is the misfortune of moſt Princes, and ſuch is the unhappines of Subjects, where Kings affections are ſettled, and their loves ſo farre tranſported to promote ſervants, as they onely truſt and credit what they ſhall informe.

In this caſe what Subject dares complaine, or what Subject dares contradict the words or actions of ſuch a Servant, if it be not warranted by freedome of a Parliament they ſpeaking with humility, for nothing obtaineth favour ſo much with a King, as diligent obedience.

The ſureſt and ſafeſt way betwixt the King and his people, and leaſt ſcandall of partiality with indifferency, with integrity and ſincerity to examine the grievances of the Kingdome, without touching upon the perſon of any man further then the cauſe giveth occaſion; for otherwiſe you ſhall conteſt with him that hath the Princes eares open, to hearken to his inchanted tongue, hee informes ſecretly, when you ſhall not be admitted to excuſe, hee will caſt your deſerved malice againſt him to your contempt againſt the King, and ſeeking to leſſen his authority, hee will make the Prince, the ſheild of his revenge.

Theſe are the ſiniſter practiſes of ſuch ſervants to deceive

ceive their Soveraignes, when theſe grievances ſhall be authentically proved and made manifeſt to the World, by your paines to examine, and freedome to ſpeake, no Prince can be ſo affectionate to a ſervant, or ſuch an enemy to himſelfe, as not to admit of this indifferent proceeding, if his ſervices be allowable and good they will appeare with glory: if bad, your labour ſhall deſerve thankes both of Prince and Countrey, when juſtice ſhall thus ſhine, people will bee animated to ſerve their King with integrity; for they are naturally inclined to imitate Princes in good, or bad: the words of *Cicero* will then appeare, that malitious and evill men make Princes poore, and one perfect good man is able to make a Realme rich.

One caſe I will inſtance, that is common in the mouthes of all people, and generally *vox populi, vox Dei*; If one of quality in the laſt expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee* endeavoured to conceale the number of men loſt in the laſt encounter, and confidently affirmed their number not to exceed three or foure hundred, till a Doctor of phiſick out of tenderneſſe of conſcience and duty to his Majeſty could not diſſemble, the vulgar and true report, but acquainted his Majeſty of 2000. of his Subjects there loſt, this was ſo contrary to the firſt information, and ſo diſpleaſing to the Informer and his deſignes, that hee cauſed the Phyſitians remoove, from his highneſſe preſence, who yet remaines in kind of a baniſhed man.

The truth of this two reports is eaſily determined by the Clarkes of the bands of each Company, and is worthy to be diſcovered for truths ſake, truth being ſo noble of it ſelfe, as it will make him honourable that pronounceth it, lyes may ſhadow it, but not darken

darken it, they may blame but never ſhame it, by this ſmall precedent his Majeſty ſhall ſee himſelfe abuſed, and it may bee a meanes for him to reflect, both upon men and matter.

The men ſlaine are no leſſe injured by concealing their names, whoſe lives were loſt for King and Countrey.

The *Romans* would have held it the higheſt honour for their friends and poſterity ſo to doe, and the Parliament may feare that thoſe that ſtick not ſo palpably to wrong a King, may as unjuſtly caſt aſperſions upon the houſe and other his loving Subjects.

There is no remedy left for thſe miſ-reports, but a freedome of ſpeech in Parliament, for there is no wiſe man, but knowes what and when to ſpeake, and how to hold his peace, whileſt Subjects tongues are tied, for feare they may reach him a rap, whoſe conſcience cries guilty; The King and his people are kept from underſtanding one another, the enemy is hartened abroad, and the malignant humour of diſcontent nouriſhed at home, and all for one who is like a Dragon that bites the eares of the Elephant, becauſe he knowes the Elephant cannot reach him with his Trunke; And Princes are abuſed by falſe reports, whiſpered in their eares by Sicophants and Flatterers. *Diogines* being asked what Beaſt bite ſoareſt, anſwered of wild Beaſts the Backbiter, of tame the Flatterer.

Now to diſcend to grievances which are of two kinds:

Firſt, Some concerning the Kingdome in generall.

Secondly, Some in particular, which have relation to the generall.

The

The grievances in generall are ſo many as will ſerve for every member of your Houſe to preſent two a peece to your viewes; and becauſe I cannot bee admitted amongſt you my ſelfe, yet in regard I have beene a member of you, I will preſume ſo farre as to ranke my ſelfe with you, and to tender the number of two to your conſideration.

1. My firſt complaint is of titles of honour, and that in two kinds.

Firſt, In reſpect of the parties themſelves, their eſtates, and parentage.

Secondly, In reſpect of the manner of their attaining therunto, which is mercenary, eaſe, and corrupt, which in reaſon ſhould not hold, for by Law the conſideration is unlawfull.

Trajan commended *Plutarch* for his precepts in Schoole, when hee taught that men ſhould labour to deſerve honour, but avoid the getting of it baſely, for if it were reputation to have it by deſert, it was infamie to buy it for money; in that age, where rich men were honoured, good men were deſpiſed.

Honour is not to bee valued according to the vulgar opinion of men, but prized and eſteemed as the ſurname of vertue ingendred in the mind, and ſuch honour, no King can or men can purchaſe; Hee that will ſtrive to bee more honourable then others, ought to abandon paſſion, pride, and arrogancy; that ſo his vertue may ſhine above others, for honour conſiſts not in the title of a Lord, but in the opinion people have of his vertue, for it is much more honour to deſerve and not to have it, then to have it, and not deſerve it.

There is one of three things that commonly cauſeth

ſeth a mans advancement, deſert, favour, and power.

1. The firſt makes a man worthy of it, the other two are but abuſes; for favour is but a blind fortune, an ounce of which at Court is better then a pound of wiſdome; fortune never favoreth but flattereth; ſhee never promiſeth, but in the end deceiveth; ſhee never raiſeth, but ſhee caſteth downe againe, and this advancement is meeter to bee called luck, then merit. That honour, that is compaſſed by power, takes unto it ſelfe liberty, and deſires not to bee governed by wiſedome, but force; It knowes not what it deſires, nor hath a feeling of any injury, it is neither mooved with ſweet words, nor pittifull teares, ſuch men leave not to doe evill, becauſe they have a deſire to it, but when their power faileth to doe it; The true honour amongſt the honorableſt, is where fortune caſteth downe, where there is no fault; but it is infamy where fortune raiſeth, where there is no merit.

Examine the ſtate and condition of men raiſed to honour theſe five and twenty yeares paſt, and whether it be deſert, favour, or power that hath preferred them.

Enter into the miſchiefe the Kingdome hath ſuffered, and doth ſuffer by it, and the cauſe of his Majeſties great wants will ſoone appeare.

Collect with your ſelves, how many poore and needy companions have beene raiſed to the higheſt top of honour, then will it appeare whether deſert, favour, or power advanced them.

After this examine, their Princely expences in theſe five and twenty yeares, their eſtates in preſent, and what is requiſite to maintaine their future degrees of honour,

honour, to themſelves and their poſterity, and you ſhall find his Majeſties annuall revenewes conſumed and ſpent upon thoſe unworthy perſons, beſides the impayring and impoveriſhing of the ſtate, it bringing with it the contempt of greatneſſe and authority.

It breeds an inward malice in Gentlemen better deſerving of their Country, better able to maintain the degree of honour without charge to King or Kingdome, and whoſe houſes and alliance may better challenge then the beſt of them.

It breeds diſcontent in the meaner ſort of Subjects to ſee his Majeſties wealth and revenewes of the Kingdome, thus waſted and conſumed, whereby his Majeſty is enforced to exact from them, who would otherwiſe bee able to helpe himſelfe.

The ancient and great Nobility of the land cannot chooſe, but inwardly fret to ſee themſelves ranked yea overtopped by theſe men, that once would have thought it an honour to bee a follower of theirs.

The ſecond abuſe of honour is the baſe and mercenary buying of it, obſerve commonly what theſe people are by birth, and mark the manner of their and their Fathers getting of wealth to compaſſe this title, and you ſhall find them people moſt odious to the Common-wealth, by their extortion uſury and other ungodly kind of getting.

Can there bee a greater grievance to a noble mind, then to ſee theſe upſtart families by their unſufferable miſery, penury, and extortion growne to wealth, to preceede the beſt of you in ranke, degree, and calling, whoſe Anceſtors have loſt their lives for King and Country, and your ſelves in many reſpects more able

and capable of ſerving your Prince and Common-wealth, then they and every way better deſerving.

The character of a covetous man is, that hee getteth his goods with care, and envy of his Neighbours; with ſorrow to his enemies, with travell to his body, with griefe to his Spirit, with ſcruple to his conſcience, with danger to his ſoule, with ſuite to his children, and curſe to his heires, his deſire is to live poore, to die rich; But as theſe vices are made vertues, even ſo is hee honoured for them with title of Nobility.

It is a ſtrange ambition of ſome of them to purchaſe the degrees of Earles, Viſcounts, and Barons of other Countries, as of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, onely for the name of a Lord, for no other priviledge they can challenge in *England*, if they commit any criminall offences, they ſhall bee tried by an ordinary jury, and hanged, if they ſtood in danger of arreſt (as I thinke they are not much inriched by their title) they are ſubject to catch-pooles, and a Dungion in the Counter may be their Sanctuary.

And ſeeing their pride makes them covet to divide themſelves from you, and to become *Scots* and *Iriſh*, you can doe no leſſe in requitall, but make an Act, that ſo long as they hold the titles of Forrainers, they be made uncapable to ſit in the Houſe of Parliament, or to enjoy any freedome more then his Majeſties Subjects of *Scotland* or *Ireland*.

Few, of you are there, that have not ſeene. Nobility highly praiſed in *England*, and much eſteemed abroad, and none of you now liveth, but to ſee it abuſed, and liberty with too great familiarity in uſe, the

State

State of the Court, and reputation of Lords, are much decayed and boldneſſe with contempt crept in, and no way to bee redreſſed but by a gentle ſpeech in Parliament, that ſo his Majeſty may ſee the miſchiefe of it, and reforme it, for it reſts onely in his power, who onely hath power to create honour.

When *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine* entred with Armes upon his Kingdome of *Portugall*, and that with his ſword, hee might have any fitting lawes, yet were there foure priviledges which the *Portugals* beſought they might enjoy; One, whereof was that the King would make no unworthy perſon noble without their approbation, which was granted them, And to this day, they hold that freedome, which keepes that Kingdome in the ancient ſtate honour and dignity, That is to ſay, two Dukes, one Marqueſſe, and eighteen Earles; and thus much for the point of honour.

The ſecond grievance, I will recommend to your viewes, is the carriage of our Warres, the exceſſive charges vainely ſpent therein, the unworthineſſe of the people imployed, the grave experience neglected, the deſignes not warranted by reaſon and diſcretion, and the executions worſe performed, with many other circumſtances, that depend upon it.

But before I proceede herein, I muſt crave leave to ſpeake to two points.

The one to declare the property and condition of Impoſtures and Deceavers of Princes.

In the other, I muſt cleare the Houſe of Parliament, of an imputation caſt upon it.

Abuſers of Princes are they, that perſwade them to Warre, to become poore, when they may live in peace,

and become rich, when they may be loved, cauſeth them to bee hated, when they may enjoy their lives ſecurely, put them in hazard of croſſe fortune raſhly; And laſtly having neceſſity to uſe their Subjects, puts them into that neceſſity, as they refuſe to doe for him, all this is pride of the perſwader as *Socrates* ſaith.

In the ſecond, I will cleare the Parliament, in which I was a member, of an ingratefull aſperſion caſt upon it, that is to ſay, that the Parliament was a cauſe to draw his Majeſty into Warre, and failed on their part to contribute towards it.

Theſe have beene often repeated and the Parliament accuſed, the contrary hath beene as often reiterated, and the truth expreſſed how farre the Parliament proceeded therein, but to ſtop the mouths of ſuch falſe reports, and to free the Parliament of ſuch a calumniation, I muſt uſe this Argument.

At the aſſembly at *Oxford*, the Parliament being prorogued thither, money was required of us towards the furniſhing of his Majeſties Fleet, then preparing upon many reaſons alledged too tedious now to repeat; with one conſent it was refuſed, whereupon there was offer made by him that next the King ſeemed to have beſt authority, that if they would, but contribute 40000.l. they ſhould chooſe their enemy.

Whereupon I enferre, that before that propoſition, there was no enemy, and therefore no Warres.

The motion of money being denied, the Parliament inſtantly brake up, and ſeeing no enemy was nominated, nor money conſented to by us; I ſee not how the houſe can bee taxed for peace breakers, but rather the name caſt upon ſome young men, for youth by nature

ture is prone to pride, especially where experience wants, they are credulous what they heare that pleaseth them, and incredulous with what is told them by wise men, they are despisers of others Councels, and very poore in their owne, they are dangerous for Princes to relie on, for selfe-will is of greater force, then precepts.

Now to proceede in *October* following the Fleete put to Sea, and what they did is apparant by relation written by their Generall at his returne.

The voyage being ended another followed the next Summer under the command of that noble Lord the Earle of *Linsey*, which through the weakenesse and disablity of the Ships was not able to performe what he had in charge, and what he desired.

The last and most lamentable was that to the Isle of *Rhee* which I likewise referre to a man I have seene, and to the Bookes printed and extant.

These, with that to *Algiers*, to make up a messe of Island voyages, I wish might be referred to examination of choyce and experienced souldiers by land and by Sea, to report their opinions of it, that so their errours, their wastfull expences, their negligences, their weake designes, and want of experience may appeare with the successe that might have proved, if advice and councell had had preheminence above will and arrogancy; for hee that is ignorant of truth and knowledge and led away with pride of his owne opinions must needs erre.

After it hath past your approbation it is worth his Majesties view, who then shall see the difference of actions well managed, and rash and heady enterprises undertaken by ignorance, and performed with folly.

Busines

Buſines of ſo great a conſequence ought to be conſidered of Councell and not onely of the neceſſity profit and honour, but of the poſſibility that was like to follow, for an action well begun is halfe ended.

My experience in Diſcipline of Warres by Land and Sea, can ſay no more then to referre it to others, for it is a courſe, I never was bred to in my youth, and now to late in my age to practiſe, onely one thing I obſerve, that in the two vogayes of *Cadeze* and *Rhee*, in the firſt a Land ſouldier commanded at Sea, who knew not what belonged thereunto; And the other was carried by him that was no ſouldier neither by Land nor by Sea, and the ſucceſſe proved accordingly in both, yet their errours were never queſtioned, but they both highly advanced.

In my opinion the charge they tooke upon them was as improper as for a Merchant to become a Judge, for I have ever heard, that there are five things neceſſary in a Generall, to wit knowledge, valor, prevention, authority, and fortune; The laſt whereof but one had beene better ſpared at the Iſle of *Rhee*, for alſo late authority joyned with wilfulneſſe of the Commander was the utter bane of the action, as the relation tels us.

And it is no marvell, for according to the old ſaying, the beſt Fencer is not alwayes the beſt Fighter, the faireſt Tilter not the beſt experienced Souldier, nor the eare of the favorite at the Court, the beſt Generall of an Hoſt. And whoſoever every takes upon him that command beholds himſelfe in a falſe Glas, that makes him ſeeme what hee is not, as on the contrary experience is the Mother of prudence, and prudence will

will not take Councell, leaſt ſhee joyne her will with her will, haſtineſſe cauſeth repentance, and frowardneſſe cauſeth hinderance.

For the evils that followed upon theſe two voyages, your ſelves are ſufficient witneſſes, and can judge of it.

As namely the billetting of Souldiers in the Countrey, and bringing their Ships in harbours, not abating the entertainement of the one, nor the wages of the other; And yet notwithſtanding, this needleſſe coſt and charges, our ſhips and coaſts are daylie infeſted, in ſuch ſort as we dare not peepe out of harbour.

Were the carriage of things now anſwerable to the prudence and preſidents of former times, wee cannot pretend a feare of invaſion, becauſe our Ships are divided into ſeverall harbours, and our Souldiers billetted in inward Countries, beſides the ſeaſon of the yeare giveth no oportunity to an enemy to attempt it.

Here is a maſſe of wealth careleſly conſumed, whether the King or Subject beare it, & no man bettered, but onely thoſe that have the titles of Souldiers, yet never had the happineſſe or honour to ſee what appertained to ſervice, they are taught inſteade of worke, by which they have lived and beene bred, now to ſpend their time in idleneſſe, & ale-houſes, and to forget their occupations, their example of diſorder encourageth other to follow their liberty.

People that were wont to live poorely, yet ſafely, are now by their fellowes and their followers, robbed and ſpoiled, and no remedy for redreſſe.

The rich ſtand upon their guard and dare not reſort to Church, leaſt in their abſence, their houſes bee ſurprized and rifled.

The Juſtices have onely the name of Officers, but have no power to puniſh injuſtice, all mens prayers are now a dayes to bee defended from the wroth of a mighty man, and the tumult of the people.

Garriſons in *England* which have no ſtrong walled Townes, nor is uſed to the diſorder and looſe carriage of Souldiers, is more perillous uncouth and ſtraying then where Warre is practized, innovations in all ſtates are dangerous, eſpecially where there is a diminution of the Lawes, or a feare to execute Juſtice, through too much liberty given to Souldiers.

No Countrey but hath more hurt by their Garriſons then by their enemies.

Enemies onely rob the frontiers, others the whole Countrey.

The enemy may bee reſiſted, the other not ſpoken againſt.

The enemy giveth a ſudden attempt, and returneth, the others doe every day rob and ſpoile.

The enemy ſurpriſeth with feare, the other have neither feare nor ſhame.

The firſt leſſoning the greatneſſe of the Romane Empire, who by the inſolency of Souldiers, and the firſt raiſing of the houſe of *Ottoman* was by promiſſion and his conniving at his Army.

What man is ſo old in *England* that hath ſeene, or what youth ſo young, that ever thought to ſee *Scotiſhmen*, and *Iriſhmen* garriſoned in *England*, and no enemy appeare againſt us, or who could have imagined, hee ſhould have ever a ſeene our owne people tyrannized over, in our owne Kingdome by this of our owne Nation, and thoſe *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh*, yea and dare not ſo much as complaine.

Would

Would our fore-Fathers have thought it ſafety, or policy to drawe 2000. *Scottiſhmen* and *Iriſhmen* into the Iſle of *Wight*, for their defence againſt *France*, when they of the Iſle deſired it not, nay when they oppoſed it.

Would they have thought it wiſedome that 2000. mouthes beſides the Inhabitants ſhould live on the food of that Iſland, and ſo bring themſelves into want and penury of victuals, if they ſhould in earneſt be attempted by an enemy.

Would they have thought fit, the charge of it ſhould bee required of them, And yet they to ſuffer all injuries from the hands of ſtrange Souldiers, where the meaneſt boy in the Iſland is thought to manage Armes better then the beſt of them that are there billetted.

No, but they would rather have thought it diſcretion, upon the returne of thoſe voyages to have cauſed the men to repaire to the place where they were preſſed, and to have ordered that each pariſh ſhould have ſet them on worke for their maintainance, with command to be ready upon warning to repaire to the place of randevous.

There is no part or place in *England* ſo remote from the Sea, but they might have reſorted to the port aſſigned, before the Ships could be furniſhed, or drawn together.

They would have thought it more wiſedome to have retired to their owne harbours, and to have had their men diſcharged, then to have continued this needleſſe and expencefull courſe that is taken.

They would have judged it better, to have ſupplied the Iſle of *Wight* with 2000. men out of the maine

land, when they feared any evill to the Iſland, then to ſend for them into *Scotland*, and to keepe them in continuall entertainement.

They would have thought it more fit to have returned the barbarous *Iriſh* into the Countrey from whence they came, then to make them a vexation to the places and parts where they remaine, ſeeing no ſhadow of reaſon can be pretended for it.

England wants no men, and hath as good and able men as either of the other two Nations, if his Majeſty had occaſion to uſe them.

England with ſmall charge and trouble can raiſe what men his Majeſty pleaſeth to command and that ſuddenly, and diſcharge them againe without trouble or charge as quickly.

The Wiſemen of *England* would have thought 2. or 300000. pound better ſpared then thus wastfully conſumed and diſorders committed, wee may compute it to that ſumme, and yet keepe our ſelves within compaſſe, and notwithſtanding the want of money, and the wayes to exact it of the ſubject, is all the ſong now ſung; Hee that ſees or complaines of the evill managing of things, is either impriſoned, baniſht the Court or cenſured for a diſcontent.

There is no *Engliſhman*, but knoweth the heart of every other true hearted *Engliſhman*, and with one conſent will all obey their Prince, and to his perſon owe all due reverence, and wee may truly ſay, no King is more happy in Subjects for their love, nor never ſubjects readier to ſerve their King, with their purſes & perſons, nor never people was better bleſt with a King, who is endued with all kind of vertues, & ſtaynd with no manner of vice, his mercy, his temper, his chaſtity, and

and his meekeneſſe, is ſuch as wee may ſay of him, as of *David*, that hee is a man according to Gods owne heart.

But, if any man, ſhall poiſon, this opinion of ours, by ſiniſter reports, hee is a worker of ſedition; Hee hath a lying tongue, and ſpeaketh not truth, hee is worthy, to bee ſpued out, not of the Court, but even from the face of the earth.

Falſe Informers and miſguiders of good Kings, are much more perilous, then if Princes themſelves were evill, for commonly as wormes breed ſooneſt in ſoft and ſweet wood, ſo are the beſt natures (inclined to honour, and Juſtice) ſooneſt abuſed by falſe Flatterers.

The evill they commit, under the authority of good Princes is accounted as done, by the Prince himſelfe; But commonly ſuch people in the end, pay for it, for hee that deſires not to doe good, cannot bee wiſe, but will fall into 4000. follies.

One of the firſt propoſitions made to the houſe, will bee for money to ſupport his Majeſties vaſt expence; at this time, that the enemy threatens thunder againſt the Kingdome, your often Alarums, upon ſuch pretences may make you now to ſecure, for true it is, that the laſt Parliament bookes were publiſhed of invincible preparations intended againſt us, and nothing came of it, but beware you bee not deceived, by an old ſaying, that when one uſually tels lies, he is not truſted, when hee ſpeakes truth, for certainely the danger, is much more, then by the power and greatneſſe of another enemy.

In this caſe you muſt give for your owne ſakes, that ſo you may bee ſure to enjoy what is

yours, for your ſoveraignes ſake to maintaine his greatneſſe, and ſtate, and for your Countries ſake to keepe it from oppreſſion of the enemy, but withall you ought to lay downe the condition of the Kingdome, and to ſhew that your neceſſity cannot paralell with your hearts and deſires, that your minds will bee carried with a willingnes to give, but your hands will keepe back your hearts for want of ability to give.

Themiſtocles demanding tribute of the *Athenians* told them hee brought two Gods with him, that is to ſay, perſwaſion and violence, they anſwered that they had other two Gods in their Countrey both great and powerfull, which were poverty and impoſſibility which hindred them from giving, but leaſt this anſwer ſhould be poiſoned or miſ-reported to his Majeſty and wreſted to the worſt ſenſe, I pray you to examine the ſtate and condition of every man in particular, and their impoſſibility of giving will appeare.

What can bee hoped for, from the Merchant, that is prohibited the greateſt Trade of profit and gaine; and dayly damnified by the ſpoile of *Dunkirkes*.

What can we expect from the owners of Ships, that have ſuffered more Shipwracks lately, then in an hundred yeares before.

What can wee looke for from the Husbandmen, when Corne and Wooll is underfoote, for it was an obſervation of the wiſe Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, that every twelve pence abated in a ſtone of Wooll was 100000. pound loſſe to the Kingdome.

What can bee required, from the multitude, conſidering the little commerce, the dayly payments to the

the King, to the Houſes of correction, to the Poore, to the maimed Souldiers, to the often appearing at Muſters, the altering of Armes, the watching of Highwayes, the garding of Beacons, and other ſervices at the Juſtices command.

What can Knights and Gentlemen give, their ſheepe dying, their tennants decaying, and their rents falling and fayling.

What can bee looked for, from the Clergy, conſidering their charge of induction, their firſt fruits, and the maintenance of their Wives, Children, and Families; yea though they came freely to their benefices.

What can bee expected from the Tradeſ-men or Artificers when all other, either want or decay; Now people will bee contented with one ſuite of cloathes, that two heretofore would not have ſerved, ſhooes, boots, hats, and all other apparell, they will Husband after that proportion.

There are two ſorts of people in the Commonwealth well able to give, the one the Vſurer which is commonly free from all payments, in regard the neceſſities of moſt making them beholding to them, in one kind or other, for themſelves and their friends, they in requitall ſhew him all poſſible eaſe and favour in publique diſburſements.

The other are Noblemen and Gentlemen formerly ſpoken of, that have had their advancement from the King, and his Father, though not immediatly, but Collaterally, for if you caſt your eyes upon divers ſervants of great perſons and remember what you have knowne them, 10. or 12. yeares paſt, it would put you into an admiration, yea ſome from Horſekeepers

other

other baſe callings, are now promoted to the degrees of Baronets, Knights and the like, for though that new deviſed order of Baronets was firſt inſtituted for money, yet ſuch is the fortune of ſervants, if one great man that is their maſter, once preferre them to the King, the firſt day they enjoy the dignities of Baronets; when Gentlemen of great ranck and qualities that have long ſerved their Princes cannot compaſſe it without conſideration of money.

When theſe things you ſhall collect and ſeriouſly call to mind, you would thinke your ſelves theſe 12. yeares laſt paſt a ſleepe, and that you are now newly wakened, you ſhall heare of many things paſt in that ſpace as making and removing of Treaſurers, Keepers, Secretaries, Judges, and all manner of Councellours and Officers, with a million of ſuch memorable and unlookt for accidents.

But leaving theſe as grievances and vexations to the Subject, let us come to a neerer point which is the ſafety of the Kingdome that the enemy threatens ſo in danger, wee may truely ſay, that God hath ſo placed and ſeated this Iſle of *England*, that nothing but evill councell can hurt it: but true it is, advice that is not warranted from wiſe men, may prove more forcible and perilous then the power of an enemy, the Scripture telleth us that the thought periſheth that taketh not Councell.

A King of the Lacedemonians asked how a Kingdome might ever ſtand; was anſwered two wayes, if a King take Councell of wiſe honeſt men, that they ſpeake freely and doe juſtice uprightly.

There was never Cenſor that judged, Senatour that ordered, Emperour that commanded, Conſull that exe-

executed Orator that perſwaded, nor any other mortall man but ſometimes hee committed errours, and deſerved either blame or puniſhment for his miſdoings, and if hee were wiſe deſired adviſe what to doe.

Saint *Gregory* ſaith, no man can give ſo faithfull Councell, as hee who loves one more then his guift, then who are or can bee ſo true Councellours to our noble King as a houſe of Commons, that hath no relation to a Kings guift, but onely to his honour flouriſhing eſtate and ſafety.

This is the time to amend evill Councels paſt, and to let evill Councellours ſee their errours.

This is the time for all men to put to their helpes, ſome with their hands to fight, others with their adviſe to counſell.

And for mine advice, this it is, that you preſent to his Majeſty in all humbleneſſe your, willing minds and hearts to repaire and fit to Sea, his Majeſty navy, your ſelves to have power to make them able and ſerviceable, with the advice of experienced men, that you may call unto you, this is a matter of great importance at this preſent, for the ſafety of the Realme King and Subject, for the ſtrength of the Kingdome much depends upon this Bulwark, which wee may well tearme the walles of *England*.

His Majeſty ſhall find himſelfe much eaſed by it, buſineſſes ſhall bee carried without his trouble or care, moneyes ſhall not bee ſought for to that end, but provided by you, his Majeſty may diſpoſe of the reſt of his revenew at his pleaſure.

By your frugality and husbandry, his Majeſty ſhall have occaſion to judge of things paſt, of yours in preſent,

ſent, and hereafter it will ſerve for a preſident to walke after, It will ſtop the mouthes of malignant tongues, that informe his Majeſty of the unwillingneſſe of the Subject to give, and it will make it apparant that their true griefe is not in the matter of giving, but to ſee the evill imploying of it, when it is given.

If any man ſhall prevent this good meaning and motion of yours and infringe his Majeſty, 'tis a derogation from his honour to yeeld to his Subjects upon conditions. His Majeſty ſhall have good cauſe to prove ſuch mens eyes malicious and unthankefull, and thereby to diſprove them in all their other actions, for what can it leſſon the reputations of a Prince, whom the Subject onely and wholly obeyeth, that a Parliament which his Majeſty doth acknowledge to bee his higheſt Councell ſhould adviſe him, and hee follow the adviſe of ſuch a Councell what diſhonour rather were it to bee adviſed and ruled by one Councellour alone, againſt whom there is juſt exception taken, of the whole Common-wealth.

Marcus Portio ſaith, that, that Common-wealth is everlaſting where the Prince ſeeks to get obedience and love, and the Subjects to gaine the affection of the Prince, and that the Kingdome is unhappy where their Prince is ſerved out of ends and hope of reward, and hath no other aſſurance of them, but their ſervices.

FINIS.

THE ORDER AND Course of Passing BILLS IN PARLIAMENT.

Divided into 8. SECTIONS, *viz.*

1. By whom Bills are drawne and presented to the Parliament.
2. Orders to bee observed in preferring Bills to bee read.
3. Touching the first Reading.
4. Touching the second Reading.
5. Touching the third Reading.
6. Touching Provisoes and Additions, Amendments and amendments of Amendments.
7. Touching the sending Bills into the Upper House.
8. Touching the Royall Assent.

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PASSING OF BILS.

Sect. I.

By whom Bills are drawne and presented to the Parliament.

PUblike Bills are usually drawne by such of the House (by the advice of Lawyers) as of themselves are earnestly inclined to the effecting of some publike good, which requireth the assistance of some new Law, which being faire written in Paper with wide Lines they are either by some member of the house publikely presented to the Speaker in the House, with some short speech setting forth the needfulnesse of a Law in that behalfe, or delivered in private to the Speaker, or the *The presenting of Bills.*

Clerke of the Parliament to be presented to the Houſe at ſome convenient time, and it is in the choice of the party to preferre his Bill into the Upper Houſe firſt, or to the Houſe of Commons which he liſt, and as hee ſhall thinke it may moſt advantage his cauſe.

Upon motion a Committee to draw a Bill.

Many times upon the motion of ſome one of the Houſe, wiſhing a Law were made for proviſion to bee had in ſuch a caſe, a Committee is purpoſely appointed by the Houſe to draw a Bill to that effect, which being done, one of them preferreth it to the Speaker; This is uſuall in Caſes of great moment and difficulty.

Bill of ſubſidy.

The Bill for Subſidy is uſually drawne by ſome of the Kings Counſell after the ſubſtance thereof for the number of Subſidies, and Fifteenes to be granted, and the times of payment are firſt agreed upon by the Houſe.

The Preamble thereof.

The Preamble thereof containing the cauſes of the Grant is uſually drawne of ſome principall members of the Houſe, ſelected Committees for that purpoſe.

Bills & Committees for Revivals repealeſor continuance of Statutes.

Bills of the revivall, repeale or continuance of the Statutes, are uſually drawne by Lawyers being members of the Houſe, appointed thereunto by the Houſe, upon ſome motion to that purpoſe made, which is uſuall at the beginning of every Parliament.

Private bills by whom drawne.

Private Bills are uſually drawne by Counſellors at Law, not being of the Houſe, and ſome-

ſometimes by thoſe of the Houſe and that for their Fees, which howſoever it hath by divers beene held to be lawfull, yet it cannot be, but very inconvenient, ſeeing that they are afterwards to be Iudges in the ſame cauſe.

A Bill hath bin ſent to the Speaker ſigned by the hand of Queene *Elizabeth*, with ſpeciall Commandment to be expedited, but that is a rare Caſe, and very extraordinary, yet ſuch was her Majeſties favour to Sir *John Perrot*, convict of Treaſon in a Bill for his reſtitution in blood, as it appeareth by the Clerkes booke 35. *Eliz.* 26. *Martij*, at what time the Lord *Cooke* was Speaker. *A Bill ſent to the Speaker ſigned by Q. Eliz.*

Such Bills as beeing firſt paſſed in one Houſe are alwaies in Parchment very fairely ingroſſed. *All Bills ſent ingroſſed frō one Houſe to another.*

Thus much touching the firſt drawing and preſenting of Bills to the Parliament.

Sect. II.

Orders to bee obſerved in preferring of Bills.

PUblike Bills are in due courſe to bee preferred in reading and paſſing before private; And of Publike, firſt of ſuch as concerne the ſervice of GOD and good of the Church. *Priority of Bills.*

Secondly,

Secondly, ſuch as concerne the *Commonwealth*, in which are included ſuch as touch the Perſon, Revenue, or Houſhold of the King, Queene, or Prince, and they ought eſpecially to be preferred in paſſing.

Laſtly, private Bills ſhould be offered to be read and paſſed in ſuch order as they were preferred.

No private Bill to bee read after 9. of the clock.

There have bin oftentimes Orders in the Houſe, that after Nine a clocke (when uſually the Houſe groweth to be full) they ſhould not be troubled with the reading of any private Bills.

A Cõmittee in the end of a Parliamẽt to ſelect bills

And towards the end of a Parliament when there remaine many Bills in the Houſe undiſpatched, there hath beene a ſpeciall Committee appointed, to take a ſurvey of them, and to marſhall them by their titles, in ſuch order as they ſhould thinke fit, they ſhould be preferred to their paſſage, having reſpect to the Importance of the matter which they concerne.

It hath ſometimes been Ordered, that every one that preferreth a private Bill ſhould pay 5. pounds to the Poore, which was due 43 *Eliz.* towards the end of the Parliament, when they were troubled with much buſineſſe, but it holdeth not in other Parliaments.

In the Treaties *De modo tenendi Parliamenti* there is touching the Order of preferring

ferring of Bills, this Clauſe found, *Petitiones ſunt aſſilatæ, ſicut deliberatur, & ſic per ordinem leguntur, & reſpondentur, ſed primo determinantur quæ ad Guerram pertinent, poſtea de perſona Regis & Reginæ, & pueris ſuis, ac gubernatione eorum, & poſtea de communibus negotiis terrarum ſicut eſt de legibus faciendis, & emandandis, videlicet Originalibus, Judicialibus, & Executioriis poſt judicium redditum, & poſtea ſingulares Petitiones ſecundum quod ſunt ſuper ſilaciis.*

But the Speaker is not preciſely bound to any of theſe Rules for the preſerving of Bills to be read or paſſed, but is left to his owne good diſcretion, except hee ſhall be ſpecially directed by the Houſe to the contrary; And howſoever, if hee bee earneſtly preſſed by the Houſe for the reading of ſome one Bill, yet, if hee have not had convenient time to read the ſame over, and to make a Breviate thereof for his memory, the *Speaker* doth claime a priviledge to deferre the reading thereof till ſome other time. *An.* 43. *Eliz.* 14. *Nov. Cooke* Speaker, and it was often uſed by *Sergeant Philip*, in the firſt *Parliament of King James*, And thus much touching the Order of Bills to be read or paſſed.

Now followeth touching the reading and paſſing of them.

Sect. III.
Touching the first reading of Bills.

THe Clarke being usually directed by the Speaker (but sometimes by the House) what Bill to read, with a loud and distinct voyce, First readeth the title of the Bill, and then after a little pawse, the Bill it selfe, which done (kissing his hand) hee delivereth the same to the Speaker, who standing up uncovered, whereas otherwise hee sitteth with his hat on, and holding the Bill in his hand, saith: This Bill is thus intituled, and then readeth the Title, which done, he openeth to the House the substance of the Bill, which he doth either trusting to his Memory, or using the helpe, or altogether the reading of his Breviate, which is filed to the Bill, sometimes reading the Bill it selfe, especially upon the passage of a Bill, when it hath bin much altered by the *Committees*, so that thereby it differeth very much from the *Breviate*.

Title.

Breviate.

Reading the whole bill upon the last passage when it is much altered.

30. *Session*, 1. *Parliament. Iac. Regis*, It was ordered that the *Committees*, which amend the Bill, should likewise amend the *Breviate* in the principall matters, for the ease and direction of the Speaker.

Committees to amend the Breviate.

When

When hee hath thus opened the effect of the Bill, he declareth to the Houſe, that this is the firſt reading of the Bill, and delivereth the ſame againe to the Clarke.

He declares it in the firſt reading.

The Bill containing the Kings generall pardon, hath onely but one reading in the Upper Houſe, and one below, the reaſon is, *becauſe the Subjects muſt take it as the King will give it, without any alteration*, and yet many times upon the reading thereof, there are exceptions taken to it; for that it is not ſo favourable, as in former times.

The generall pardon hath but one reading.

Exceptions to the pardon.

The like of the Bill of Subſidie granted by the Clergie, it hath but one reading above, and one below.

That day that the Speaker (being approved by the King) commeth downe into the *Lower Houſe* to take his place, The Cuſtome is for to read for that time onely one Bill, left unpaſſed the Seſſion, and no more, to give him ſeizin of his place, 39. *Eliz.* 27. *October*, The uſuall courſe is to ſpend the Morning, before the Houſe grow full, in the firſt reading, and to referre the ſecond or third reading of Bills to the Houſe growne full. At the firſt reading of the bill, it is not the uſe for any man to ſpeake to it, but rather to conſider thereof, and to take time till the ſecond Reading.

Yet is not altogether without preſident, that a Bill hath beene ſpoken both for and againſt, upon the firſt reading which is very ſildome, but onely in caſes when the matter of the Bill is apparantly inconvenient and hurtfull to the *Common-wealth*, and ſo not fitting to trouble the Houſe any longer, But at the firſt reading no man ſhould ſpeake to any part of the Bill, or for addition, *whereby it is implyed that the Body of the Bill is good.* If any Bill originally begun in the Lower Houſe, in the firſt reading happen to be debated to and fro, and that upon the debate, the Houſe doe call for the queſtion, it ought not to be; Whether the Bill ſhall be ſecondly read; for ſo it ought to bee of ordinary courſe: But whether it ſhall bee rejected in this ſort, *as many as will have this Bill rejected, ſay yea, and as many as be of the contrary mind, ſay no, and the greater number of voyces ſhall carry it*, 43. *Eliz.* 17. *November.* The Bill againſt unlawfull limiting, 5. *Seſſ.* 3. *Iacobi Regis*, 25. *October.* If a Bill comming from the Lords be preſſed, to be put to the queſtion upon the firſt reading, the *Speaker* in reſpect and favour thereunto, ſhould not make the queſtion for the rejection, as in the Bills Originally begun in the Lower Houſe upon the firſt reading, but ſhould firſt make the queſtion for the ſecond reading, and if that be denyed for rejection, This courſe was held by *Serjeant Philips*, when he was *Speaker*.

Queſtiõ for rejecting upon the firſt reading.

But

But uſually, when any ſuch debate is upon the firſt reading of a Bill, the Speaker doth forbeare to make any queſtion at all thereupon, except he be much preſſed thereto; for that it were fit, better to conſider of it before it be put to ſuch a hazard.

If the queſtion for the rejection be made, and the greater voyce be to have it rejected, the Clerke ought to note it rejected in the Journall, and ſo to indorſe it on the backe of the Bill, and it ſhall then be no more read, if the voyce be to have the Bill received, it ſhall have his ſecond reading in courſe.

It is againſt the Ordinary courſe, that the ſame Bill ſhould bee read more then once in one day, yet for ſpeciall Reaſons it hath beene ſuffered, that Bills have in one day beene read twice, *As in the aforeſaid Caſe of* Sir John Verret, *though it were a private Bill*, ſo was it likewiſe done in the Bill for the aſſurance of Lands given by Mr. *Sutton* for charitable uſes, becauſe he was then taken extreame ſicke, and that it was doubtfull whether he would live, while the Bill might have his paſſage in ordinary courſe, and it was ſometimes done when the Houſe wanteth other buſineſſe wherein to imploy themſelves, eſpecially, if the Bill be of no great importance, howſoever it is never but upon motion, and ſpeciall order.

Bils drawne by Committies, twice read in a day and ordered to be ingroſſed.

When *Committees* appointed for the drawing of ſome bils, preſent the ſame ready drawn unto the Houſe, it hath beene often ſeene, that the ſame bill hath not beene onely twice read, but ordered alſo to be ingroſſed the ſame day, as it was done in the *bill* of *Counterfeit Seales*, 23. *Eliz.* 16. *February.*

And in the Bill againſt the diſobedience of the Queene, 4. *Martii*, of the ſame *Parliament.*

A bill reade thrice in a day & paſſed

Neither is it without preſident, that a Bill hath been thrice read, and paſſed the ſame day, as was the Bill of the *Recognition* of his *Majeſties title*, which came from the Lords, 1. *Jac. Regis Seſſion.* 1. But is a preſident that ſtandeth alone, *And in that Caſe it was reſolved, that the Bill might not be returned to the Lords, without a Copy firſt taken thereof by the Clarke, to be reſerved in the Lower Houſe.*

Sect. IV.

Touching the ſecond reading of committing of Bills.

Second reading.

A Bill may be preferred to be ſecondly read the next day after the firſt reading, but the uſuall courſe is to forbeare two or three dayes, that men may have the more time to thinke upon it, except the nature of the buſineſſe be ſuch that it requireth haſte.

Vſuall to forbeare 2 or 3 dayes after the firſt reading.

After

After the Bill is secondly read, the Clarke as before in humble manner delivereth the same to the Speaker, who againe readeth the title and his breviate as he did upon the first reading, which done, he declareth that it is now the second reading of the Bill, *and then he ought to pause a while, expecting whether any of the House will speak to it; For before the Speaker hath so declared the state of the Bill, no man should offer to speake to it, and then, and not before is the time when to speake.*

If a man speake against a bill upon the second reading for matter or forme, the question may be made for the ingrosing after it is made for committing.

If after a pretty distance of time, no man speake against the Bill for matter or forme, he may make the question for the ingrossing of it, if it be a Bill originally exhibited into the *Lower House*, so likewise, if divers speake for the Bill without taking exception, to the forme thereof, he may make the same question for the ingrossing.

A like Question for ingrosing of the greater number be not to commit it.

The like question for the ingrossing ought to be made of the greater voyce, but that the Bill shall not be committed; for it were to no end further to delay the proceeding of the bil, if there be no exception taken to the matter or forme thereof, but upon the second reading and after the Speaker hath declared the state thereof, the House doth usually for the committing of the Bill, and then if any man will speake against it, *either for matter or forme, he ought to be heard.*

After

After the firſt man hath ſpoken, the *Speaker* ought to reſt a while, expecting whether any other man will ſpeake thereto, ſo ought he likewiſe to doe after every Speech ended, when hee perceiveth that the debate is at an end, hee ought then to make the queſtion for committing thereof in this ſort, as many as doe thinke fit this Bill ſhould be committed, ſay yea, and after the affirmative given, or as many as ſhall thinke the contrary, ſay no, and he ought by his Eare to judge which of the voyces is greateſt, if that be doubtfull, the Houſe ought to be divided, Touching the manner there ſhall be ſaid in another place.

Queſtion for committing a Bill.

The Speaker to judge by his eare the greater voyce

In equalitie of voyces the Speaker hath a caſting voice.

If upon diviſion of the Houſe it appeare, *that the Members are equall, the Speaker hath a caſting voyce upon all queſtions.*

If the greater voice for commitment then to name Committes, time and place.

If it appeare, that the affirmative voyce be the greateſt, *then ought he to put the Houſe in mind, touching the name of Committees, which is done in this ſort.*

Every one of the Houſe that liſt, may call upon the name of any one of the Houſe to be a Committee, and the Clerke ought in his Journall to write under the title of the Bill, the name of every one ſo called upon, at leaſt-wiſe of ſuch whoſe names in that confuſion he can diſtinctly heare, and this hee ought to doe without partiality, either to thoſe that name, or to the parties named, but touching the naming of the *Committees*, and their du-

ties

ties more ſhall be ſaid in another place.

When a convenient number of *Committees* are named, then ought the *Speaker* to put the Houſe in mind to name time and place when and where the *Committees* may meete, which the Clerke ought likewiſe to enter into his Journall booke, And when the Houſe is in ſilence, he ought with a loud voice to reade out of his booke the *Committees* names, and the time and place of the commitments, that the *Committees* may take notice thereof.

The Clerke to reade the names of the Committeete

After the reading of a Bill twice ſent from the Lords the queſtion ought to be for the commitment, if denyed the next for paſſage and not for ingroſſing.

After a Bill which was ſent from the Lords hath beene twice read, the queſtion ought to be for the Commitment, if it be denyed to be committed, it ought then to be read the third time, And then the next queſtion ought to be for the paſſage, and not for the ingroſſing, as it is where the bill Originally beginneth in the Lower Houſe. For Bills which come from the Lords, come alwayes ingroſſed.

If denyed to be committed then queſtion for paſſage.

This queſtion for paſſage ſhould in Ordinary courſe be then made when the bill is denyed to be committed, but not till the bill hath beene read the third time.

May be deferred to another time.

If it be deferred till another day it hath bin much queſtioned whether it may be then proffered to the paſſage, but upon debate of this point, after many Arguments to and fro *Anno* 27. *Eliz.* 18. *Febr.* by the opinion

it is intended that the reporter hath declared to the Houſe the reaſon of the amendment, and the conjunction thereof to the reſt of the Bill to make it ſenſe.

Note. And yet it hath beene ſometimes permitted when the amendments have beene many, and ill written, that the whole Bill hath firſt beene read, and then the alterations by themſelves, as in the Bill of Hoſtile Lawes the third Seſſions of the firſt Parliament of K. *James* 4. *Junij.* 1607.

After amendments queſtion for ingroſſing. After the Amendments thus reade, the Clerke ought to deliver the Bill unto the *Speaker*, who holding the ſame in his hand ought againe to reade the Title thereof, and to put the queſtion whether or no it be the pleaſure of the Houſe that the Bill thus amended ſhall be put to the Queſtion for the Ingroſſing, and then ought to pawſe a while expecting whether any man will ſpeake againſt the Bill, at this time, though it hath paſſed the Approbation of the *Committees* as it was at the ſecond reading, before the ſame was Commitred.

Ingroſſing.

After the debate is ended, the *Speaker* ought to put the queſtion for the Ingroſſing: if the greater number of voyces be, that the Bill ought not to be ingroſſed, the Clerke ought to make an Entry into his Journall that the ſame was daſhed, and ſo ought he likewiſe to note upon the backe of the Bill; and the day when.

Daſhed.

If

If the voice be to have it ingroſſed, it is the Office of the Clerke to doe it.

When the Bill is ingroſſed the title is written upon the backe.

It is alwaies to be obſerved that when the Bill is ingroſſed, the Clerke ought to ingroſſe the title thereof upon the back of the Bill and not within the bill in any caſe, that men may have liberty to ſpeake thereto, For upon the third reading the matter is debated a freſh, & for the moſt part it is more ſpoken unto this time then upon any the former readings, when the Argument is ended, the *Speaker* ſtill holdeth ꝑ Bill in his hand, maketh a queſtion for the paſſage in this ſort: as many as are of the mind that this bill ſhall paſſe, ſay yea: then, If the voice be for the paſſage of the bill, the Clerke ought to make a remembrance thereof in his Journall, if otherwiſe then his remembrance muſt be made accordingly upon the bill thus paſſed, if it be originally exhibited in the Lower-Houſe, the Clerke ought to write within the bill in the top towards the right hand, theſe words.

Soit baillé aux ſeigneurs.

If the paſſed bill originally begun in the Vpper-Houſe, then ought the Clerke to write underneath the ſuperſcription of the Lords, which alwaies is at the foote of the bill theſe words.

of Sir *Fr. Walſingham* then one of the houſe, it was agreed it might be done: ſo likewiſe ought ſuch Bills as come from the Lords to have their titles ingroſſed upon the backe of the Bill, and not within: In defect whereof divers Bills comming from them, have beene returned to be amended, as may appeare by the Journalls 27. *Eliz.* 19. *December.* 13. *Eliz.* 27. *May.* 39. *Eliz.* 24. *October* 40. *Seſſs. primi Parliament. Jac. Rs.* 5. *Maii.*

A Bill ill written in the amendments returned to the Committee to be fairely written.

The Bill, as it is amended by the Committees, ought to remaine with the Clerke for his Warrant, And it is not the Ordinary courſe to cauſe the Bills ſo amended to bee fairely written, for the better ingroſſing thereof, yet hath it beene ſeene that a Bill ill written in the amendment hath beene returned to the Committees to be fairely written, and by them preſented to the Houſe, and upon the reading thereof Ingroſſed 27. *Eliz.* fol. 91. in the Clerkes booke, at ſome other times it hath beene ordered, that a Bill ſo written ſhould be proceeded, in as a new Bill. 23. *Eliz.* 28. *Febr.* 27. *Eliz. Feb.* 9. in the Clerkes Booke.

A Bill ſo written ordered to be proceeded in as a new bill.

A Bill committed and reported not to be recommitted, but either daſhed or ungroſſed.

After a Bill hath beene committed and reported, it ought not in ordinary courſe to be recommitted, but either to be daſhed or ingroſſed.

And

And yet where the matter is of importance it is ſometimes for ſpeciall reaſons ſuffered, but then uſually the reconcilement is to the ſame Committees.

If it be preſſed to be recommitted, then ought the Speaker to forbeare to put the queſtion for the ingroſſeing, and to put it upon the recommitting.

The Bill againſt the Marſhall Sea 3. *Seſſion. primi Parliament. Jac. Regis* 30. *Aprill.* 1607. was committed and reported and Counſell heard at the Barre, whereupon it was recommitted, and other Committees added who altred the former proceedings.

A Bill counted after it were reported and 3. Committees added.

The Bill then in queſtion was the Bill againſt fraudulent conveyances, fol. 85. & 86. in the Clerkes booke for that yeare, ſo was it done *primo Seſſs. prim. Parliament. Jac. Regis*, for the Bill of Hunting, but this *Preſident* is not ſo ſafe for the Houſe conſidering that oftentimes, the Bill is denyed to be committed upon utter diſlike thereof, after it hath beene long debated, and that if this Rule ſhould hold, there may be a time picked out of great diſadvantage to the houſe to put it to queſtion for paſſage. In the debating of Bills in the houſe, no man may ſpeake twice in, and done otherwiſe it is at Committees, or when in the houſe a debate ariſeth upon ſome motion, concerning the Order of the Houſe, but touching the manner of ſpeaking and what Orders ought to be obſerved therein more ſhall be ſaid elſe-where.

No man muſt ſpeake twice in a day to a Bill, otherwiſe concerning order of the Houſe.

When the Committees have fully reſol-

ved touching the bill, and the Amendments thereof, one of them by consent of all the rest ought to make report thereof to the House, opening the Substance of the things amended, and the reasons thereof: which done he ought to bring the bill so amended to the Clarke, and to stand by the Clarke all the while that the Clarke is reading of the Amendments, and ought to helpe the Clarke in reading of the same in case if it be difficult to be read, which falleth out very often by reason of interlinings and ill writing.

Report.

Bill amended a Committee brought to the Clarke in the House, and helpe to reade the amendments

The Clarke ought to reade every Amendment & interlyning two times, that so it may have as many readings as the rest of the bill hath had, and very many times it will fall out that the interlyning or amendments so read by the Clerke, will of it selfe without reading of the clause going before or following be no sense.

The Clarke must reade the Amendments twice and no other part but by sufferance.

It was agreed that the former proceedings were waved, and the latter good.

Sect. V.

Touching the third reading of Bills.

SOme 2. or 3. daies after the Bill is thus ordered to be ingrossed. It is offered by the *Speaker* to be read the third time for the passing thereof.

For

For the moſt part the Speaker putteth not any one bill to the paſſing by it ſelfe alone, but ſtayeth till there be divers bills ingroſſed for the third reading, And when hee hath a convenient number (which may be five or ſixe leſſe then more) then he giveth notice to the Houſe, that he purpoſes the next day to offer ſome bills to the paſſage, and deſireth the Houſe to give ſpeciall attendance for the purpoſe; And then the day following, hee doth accordingly goe to the third Reading, firſt of private bills, untill the Houſe be growne to ſome fulneſſe, and then he offereth to be read the publique bills which are Ingroſſed.

Informes the Houſe of divers bills ready to paſſe.

It hath at ſome times bin ordered for the preventing of carrying of Bills with few voices, That no Bill ſhould be put to the paſſage untill 9. of the clock, At which time and ſhortly after the Houſe is commonly full. When the Bill is read the third time the Clerke delivereth it to the Speaker, who readeth the Title thereof, and opening the effect of the bill, he telleth them that the bill hath now bin read thrice (and that with their favours he will put it to the queſtion for the paſſing, but pawſeth a while. Yet notwithſtanding the Clerke ought onely to reade the new Amendments without medling of any of the reſt of the bill, For

it is intended that the reporter hath declared to the Houſe the reaſon of the amendment, and the conjunction thereof to the reſt of the Bill to make it ſenſe.

Note. And yet it hath beene ſometimes permitted when the amendments have beene many, and ill written, that the whole Bill hath firſt beene read, and then the alterations by themſelves, as in the Bill of Hoſtile Lawes the third Seſſions of the firſt Parliament of K. *Iames* 4. *Junij.* 1607.

After amendments queſtion for ingroſſing. After the Amendments thus reade, the Clerke ought to deliver the Bill unto the *Speaker*, who holding the ſame in his hand ought againe to reade the Title thereof, and to put the queſtion whether or no it be the pleaſure of the Houſe that the Bill thus amended ſhall be put to the Queſtion for the Ingroſſing, and then ought to pawſe a while expecting whether any man will ſpeake againſt the Bill, at this time, though it hath paſſed the Approbation of the *Committees* as it was at the ſecond reading, before the ſame was Committed.

Ingroſſing.

After the debate is ended, the *Speaker* ought to put the queſtion for the Ingroſſing: if the greater number of voyces be, that the Bill ought not to be ingroſſed, the Clerke ought to make an Entry into his Journall that the ſame was daſhed, and ſo ought he likewiſe to note upon the backe of the Bill; and the day when.

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Soit baillé aux ſeigneurs.

If the paſſed bill originally begun in the Vpper-Houſe, then ought the Clerke to write underneath the ſuperſcription of the Lords, which alwaies is at the foote of the bill theſe words.

A certi belli les Comes ſont aſſertus.

There are divers other formes of ſigning of Bills, ſometimes when new Additions are made, ſometimes when proviſoes are added, of which more Ample mention ſhall be made hereafter in the Chapter which treateth of the duty of Clerke.

Amendment of a Bill upon the third reading and the manner of it.

If the Houſe ſee cauſe to amend any thing in the bill Originally begun in the Lower Houſe upon the third reading thereof, will not much deface the bill nor ſpend much time, the uſe is to cauſe the Sergeant to call in the Clerke that did ingroſſe it, being uſually a ſervant to the Clerke of the Houſe, and to cauſe him, ſtanding at the Table by his Maſter in the preſence of the whole Houſe, to amend the ſame according to their direction.

Sometimes if the amendments be but of a few words, it is done by the Clerke himſelfe writing a faire hand.

It hath ſometimes been ſeen (which is very rarely yeelded unto, and onely in caſes where the bill to be paſſed is of good importance) that if queſtion grow for the amendment of ſome clauſe thereof, or for the making of ſome Addition thereto, that it hath bin recommitted for the amendment thereof, but uſually the *Committees* are appointed forthwith to

draw

draw themſelves into the *Committees* Chamber, and preſently to diſpatch the ſame.

A bill at the reading referred to bee further conſidered.

The bill concerning the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the third reading, was preferred to be further conſidered of, 14. *Eliz.* 20. *May. An.* the 43. *Eliz.* 2. *Decemb.* The bill to avoid the double paiment of debts, 3. *Seſs. prim. Parliament. Iac. Regis*, *Mr. Bathurſts*, all being ready for the queſtion to paſſe, was deferred for 8. dayes, that the other parties might have notice, and then paſſed without further opening. No bill upon the third reading, for the matter or body thereof, may be recommitted (as hath bin ſaid) but for ſome particular clauſe or proviſoe, it hath bin ſometimes ſuffered, and that difference was taken for a Rule in the Bill of *Seaſands*, 4. *Seſſ. Jac. Regis*, 4. *May*. 1610.

Nor recommitment at the third reading but for ſome particular clauſe or proviſo

In the third Seſſion of the firſt Parliament of King JAMES 12. *Maij*, the bill of clothing being ingroſſed and read the third time, exception was taken to the laſt proviſe thereof, whereupon after much debate it was recommitted, which is to be obſerved as a thing unuſuall after the third reading. The next day it was returned againe by the *Committees*, with their opinions, that they held it fit a Proviſo therein ſhould be ſtruck out, whereupon queſtion grew, whether if the Proviſo being put to the queſtion alone and rejected, the whole Bill ſhould not be daſhed thereby, at laſt re-

The Proviſo put to the queſtion.

The Proviſo being put to the queſtion and rejected.

ſolved, no, whereupon it was order'd it ſhould be razed out of the bill, which was preſently done at the board by the Clarke, and the bill was put to the queſtion, and ſo paſſed.

The like in the bill for *VVherry-men*, *the ſame Seſſion the* 18. *of May*, 1607.

A bill deferred from paſſing to another day.

It hath bin much doubted; whether when a bill is in debate for the paſſing, it ought not to receive the ſentence of the Houſe the ſame day, wherein it is firſt offered to the paſſage, but there have beene ſome preſidents made, where the Caſe of importance, and the debate growing long, the Argument hath beene put over till the day following: In which Caſe, he that hath already ſpoken to the bill, the firſt day, may not againe ſpeake upon the ſecond, no more then he may ſpeake twice in one day, where the Argument is not deferred till another day.

Hee that ſpoke to the bill the firſt day, may not ſpeake the ſecond day.

A bill rejected cannot be offered the ſame Seſſion but upon alteration.

If a bill be rejected, the ſame bill may not be offered to the Houſe againe, the ſame Seſſion: but if it be altered in any point materiall both in the body and in the title, it may bee received the ſecond time.

The Houſe adjourned it ſelfe.

In the time of the reading of a bill, the Houſe ſhould not be interrupted with any o- buſineſſe, and yet in 1. *Eliz.* 24. *May*, the Houſe adjorned it ſelfe till the next day (after the bill for Sealing of Clothes was halfe read) onely to bee preſent at the Conference about Religion in *S^t Veſtminſter Abby*.

Some-

Sometimes the Houſe conceiving much offence againſt ſome bills, doth not onely order it to be rejected, but to be torne in the Houſe, as it was done in the bill to avoid *aliens*, not being here for Religion, 1. *Eliz.* 23. *Januar.*

A bill rejected and torne in the Houſe.

It hath bin ſeene that two bills being apt to be joyned together, have by the Order of the Houſe, after they had beene both twice read, ordered to be ingroſſed as one bill, and ſo paſſed, which is ſomething ſtrange, for that being both made into one bill, it is thereby become a new bill: *Nevertheleſſe, it was ſo done in two bills concerning Treaſon*, 13. *Eliz.* 26. *Aprill.*

Two bils into one.

When a Bill is thrice read and paſſed in the Houſe, there ought to be no further alteration thereof in any point: Nevertheleſſe, if it doe appeare, that there bee ſome apparant miſtaking therein, either by falſe writing or otherwiſe, the Houſe upon notice thereof have cauſed the ſame to be amended the day following, and reading the amendment three times, have againe paſſed the bill upon the queſtion, which is a rare preſident, yet was it ſo done, 23. *Eliz.* 20. *Ianuari Popham*, being *Speaker*, which is a memorable cauſe, *An.* 23. *Eliz.* 4. *Maii*, the Lords ſend downe a Bill touching the maintainance of the *Borders* of *Scotland*, the Houſe proceedeth with another bill to the ſame effect, the Lords complaine that

A bil amended after a third reading when falſe written, or apparantly miſtaken.

The Lords ſend down a bill and the Houſe proceedeth with another to the ſame effect.

that it is against order so to doe without praying a *Conference* with them (which was spoken by the Lords at a *Conference*) & are answered by the *Committees* of the *Lower House*, they might lawfully so doe.

Sect. VI.

Touching Provisoes, Schedules, Amendements, and Amendements of Amendements.

Provisoes.

When in paper, When in parchment,

TOuching the effecting and passing of Provisoes, the course is this, *if any man will offer a Proviſoe to a Bill originally begun in the Lower House, it ought to be offered in paper, as long as the bill it selfe is not engrossed: but when the bill is once ingrossed, it ought to be offered in parchment, and not in paper.*

If a proviſoe or Schedule of Addition be offered to any bill comming from the Lords at the first or second reading, it must be offered in Paper and not in Parchment, the bill being a bill ingrossed, for that it may receive much amendment at the *Committee*, and when it is together, with the bill returned by the *Committees*, there ought to be speciall question made by the *Speaker*, whether that proviſoe shall be ingrossed, if it be denyed, he may put the bill to the passage at the third reading with-

without the proviſoe, if otherwiſe, then he ought to deliver the *proviſoe* to be ingroſſed, and ſome other day when the *proviſoe* is ingroſſed, muſt put the queſtion upon the paſſage of the bill, together with the *proviſoe* at the third reading of the bill: if it be offered at the firſt reading of a bill, begun in the *Lower Houſe* (which is ſeldome) it ought to be but once read for that time, and ſo filed to the bill: If at the ſecond reading it ought to be read twice, as the bill it ſelfe hath bin, and ought to be committed: together with the bill: If it be offered at the third reading, the bill being ingroſſed, it ought to be read three times, before queſtion be put for the paſſage of the bill; but after every ſeverall reading thereof, the Clarke ought to pauſe a while to give men time to ſpeake thereto, many times upon the ſecond reading, it is ſpoken unto, and ſometimes committed and amended at the board, ſometimes rejected without more readings, upon the third reading thereof, the queſtion ought to be made; whether or no, the Houſe doth thinke it fit to annex that Proviſoe to the bill read, which queſtion ought to be made ſingle upon the Proviſoe, and afterwards the queſtion ought to be made for paſſage of the bill, together with the proviſoe annexed.

Queſtion for the proviſoe to be annexed, then for the paſſing of the bill.

If the bill with the proviſoe annexed, doe paſſe upon the third reading, the Clarke ought

to ſigne the ſame in this ſort upon the top of the bill upon the right hand.

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs avecque; un proviſon annex.

And ought to ſigne the Proviſoe it ſelfe.

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs.

The like Rules heere given for proviſoes, are to be obſerved when any Addition which containeth in it another Clauſe or branch of the bill is deſired to be annexed and offered by any of the Houſe with this difference, That whereas the Clarke, in caſe of a proviſoe, maketh mention of the proviſoe annexed, hee ought in this Caſe to write *avecque un Schedule annex, for that which containeth an Addition, is called a ſchedule.*

After the Queſtion in the affirmative or a proviſo added.

Amendmẽts.

After a queſtion is propounded on the Affirmative for the paſſage of a Bill, and before the queſtion for the Negative put, as proviſoe was offered and ordered to be received, *primo Iac. Regis. 13. Ian. 1604.*

Not to raze ad, or interline in the bills to come from the Lords but in paper to expreſſe in what lines or words the amendements are deſired.

Such bills as come from the Lords, have their paſſage in the Lower Houſe, by three Readings, aſwell as thoſe that originally begin them, when they are committed, and the *Committees* ſee cauſe to make ſome amendments in them, they ought not to interline or raze

raze, or make any other alteration in the Bill it ſelfe, as they doe in their owne bills, but in paper thereto annexed, they ought to expreſſe in what line, and in what words they deſire the Amendments to be made, which they ought to returne to their Houſe, if upon the Report thereof, the Houſe ſhall approve the doings of the *Committees*: then ought the bill with the paper affixed, be ſent into the Vpper Houſe to bee accordingly amended by the Lords, if they ſhall thinke good.

So likewiſe ought the Lords to doe, where they deſire alterations in any bill paſſed from the Lower Houſe unto them, and in this Caſe after the Amendements are read three times, the Queſtion ought firſt to be put; whether the Amendments ſhall accordingly be aſſented unto. *First Queſtion for amendments.*

Secondly, before the paſſage of the bill, with the Amendments of it paſſe, the Clark ought to ſigne it in theſe words underneath, the ſigning of the Lords at the foot of the bill.

A ceſte bille avecq; les Amendements les communes ſont aſſentus.

When the Lords ſend downe amendments, they ought to be read two times, and then if excepted

exceepted unto , put to the queſtion for the committing, if they be improved by the *Committees*, and ſo reported, then ought the queſtion to be put for the amendment of the bill accordingly.

Anno 19. Eliz. 25. December, the bill touching Labourers, paſſing firſt from the *Lower Houſe*, was ſent from the Lords with amendments in Parchment formerly indorſed.

Soit bailli aux communes.

To which exception being taken there was much conteſtation about it , betweene the Houſes, and Preſidents were ſought up, and at laſt reſolved it ought to be in paper without any indorſement at all, otherwiſe it is where there is a Schedule of Additions or Proviſoe annexed ; for they ought to be alwayes ſent in Parchment. The Journall booke in this place, handleth this point at large.

If there be cauſe to make alterations in ſome proviſoe or Schedule ſent from the Lords, the Amendment ought to bee tendered in paper, and ſo paſſed to the Lords, 3. *Seſſ. prim. Parliament. Iac. Regis* 30 *Junii*.

If beſides the Amend, a Proviſoe be added thereunto, or a Schedule of Additions there ought to be mention thereof, made by the Clerk in the ſigning of the bill?

If

If the Lower-Houſe paſſe a Bill ſent from the Lords with ſome Additions by way of Schedule (which ever containeth ſome new clauſe) or entry branch added to the bill or with ſome Proviſo to be added thereto, the ſame Proviſo or Schedule ought to be ſigned as a new Bill.

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs.

For the occaſion of which the Lords perceiving that they have not had Warrant to proceed, thereupon have returned the ſame to the Lower-Houſe to be amended, and the ſame hath beene reformed accordingly: In the Bill againſt ſcandalous Rumers. 23. *Eliz.* 8. *Martij.*

If the Lords doe abſolutely diſallow of any thing required of the Lower-Houſe to be put out, or if any addition or alteration to be made by way of amendment, the Bill then can have no further proceeding, for if the Commons ſay put out, and the Lords ſay let ſtand as it was, the ſame being before determined by queſtion in the Lower-Houſe, cannot be brought to the queſtion againe. 23. *Eliz.* 9, *Martij.*

It was ſo agreed in the Bill of Scandalous Rumours, &c.

But if the Lords for explanation of ſuch a ſentence as is in queſtion doe adde words to

the additions of the Commons without putting out any part of that which is required to be added or altered by the Commons, the same being set downe in writing by the Lords, and sent to the Commons together with the Bill, if the Commons doe allow thereof, they are to adde the words required by the words in the paper, and to insert the same into their owne paper, and so to returne the same to the Lords who thereupon ought to enter it into their Bill ingrossed, and so the bill hath his passage.

The like in all points *Mutatis Mutandis*, in busines originally begun in ỹ Lower-House, and sent to the Lords, but if to the Bill cõming from the Lords any Proviso or intire new matter be added by the Commons, because it is in sort as a new Bill, and hath not beene at the question in both Houses, the Lords may by their paper require to have part thereof put out, or may offer additions thereunto, which being returned to the Commons, and they giving allowance thereof, they accordingly to amend the same in their owne house without sending it backe to be amended by the Lords. For Amendments ought alwaies to be in that house from whence the thing to be amended originally proceedeth, though the directions for the Amendments came from the other House. And so *Mutatis Mutandis*

Amendmẽts ought to be in that house from which the Bill originally proceedes.

dis, in Proviſoes or other intire additions required by the Lords to be added to any Bill proceeding from the Commons. And it is held for a generall rule, that neither Houſe may of themſelves put out any thing which they have before paſſed, otherwiſe then required by the Houſe which hath not paſſed the ſame in Parliament. 31. *Eliz.* when Mr. *Snagge* was Speaker, it was uſuall when either Houſe deſired the cleere paſſage of any bill ſent unto them from the other Houſe, in which they thought to make alterations, to acquaint the Houſe from whence it came with the alterations which they intended to make and to deſire to know their willingneſſe thereto, thereby to prevent the hazard of the Bill, if perhaps they ſhould make alterations not approved of: in like ſort they ſometimes uſed Conferences onely to prevent the caſting away of Bills for ſome ſmall difference about the Amendments, So for this the Clarkes Booke of that *Parliament* 21. *Martij*, and 27. *Eliz.* 10. *Mart.* Then againſt Jeſuites. The like 23, *Eliz.* 17. *Martij*, the Bill againſt ſeditious Rumours.

To acquaint either houſe with alteration intended.

Anno 23. *Eliz.* 24. *Martij*. In the Bill for the better government of *weſtminſter*, the Cõmons at the requeſt of the Lords doe alter *vide.* 33. *H.* 6.

their owne amendments. The like was done by the Lords at the requeſt of the Commons upon a conference for that purpoſe, in the bill of Hoſtile Lawes 3. *Seſſ. primi Parliament. Jacob. Regis* 29. *Junij*. 27. *Eliz*. 22. *Febr*.

The Lords by a meſſage without any paper ſent unto them have been prayed by the Lower-Houſe to amend the ſenſe of ſome of their Amendments, that ſo the Houſe might further proceed therewithall, which hath accordingly beene performed, and then their Amendments have beene conſidered, allowed, and returned. 23. *Eliz*. 17. *Martij*. In the Bill touching the *Scottiſh* Lords. In the bill againſt Vagabonds. 13. *Eliz*. 13. *Martij*. It was reſolved that certaine words required by the Lords to be out, ſhould not be put out of the bill, but ſtand ſtill in the ſame qualified with other words, with condition, that if the Lords ſhould not agree to the ſaid qualification, the houſe would not be bound by the ſaid reſolution, which was done of purpoſe to avoyd the hazard of the bill, in caſe the Lords ſhould not agree thereto.

When Amendments to any bill comming from the Lords, are returned by the *Committees*, or otherwiſe added by the Houſe, they ought preſently to be read three times before they be to the paſſage with the Bill.

In the *Parliament*. 13. *Eliz*. at the third reading of a bill which came from the Lords,

an

an addition in paper was by queſtion affiled to it; The addition having beene but once read, the bill was put to the queſtion and the Houſe divided upon the paſſage, the errour being eſpied, after long arguments thereupon, the additious were ordered to be read twice more, And the bill was againe put to the queſtion and paſſed. This was the bill againſt taking up of proviſion within five miles of *Oxford*, which paſſed 25. *Maij* 13. *Eliz.*

In the *Parliament Anno* 2. *et* 3. *Phill. & Mar.* The bill of exactions at *Muſters* had a *Proviſo* annexed by the Lower-Houſe, And the Lords returned the bill deſiring that the *Proviſo* annexed, might be taken off, and a new deviſed by themſelves put in place thereof. *Quod Nota. Anno.* 27. *Eliz.* 5. *February.* The Lords having made additions to a bill paſſed from the Lower-Houſe, the Commons pray conference with them, and deſire that they themſelves may have leave to make a further addition to their owne Bill, or that the Lords would be pleaſed to ſupply the ſame by an addition of theirs, which the Lords refuſed to doe, becauſe they found no ſuch preſident.

Anno 27. *Eliz. Feb.* 8. In the Journall, the Bill againſt fraudulent conveyances paſſed from the Lords was upon the ſecond reading refuſed by the Houſe to be committed, whereupon the Lords craved a conference, and ſhewed that it was a Bill drawne by her Counſell

ſell with the advice of the Iudges, and therefore wondred at the proceeding of the Houſe, and concluded that they expected and deſired the Houſe would take it into further conſideration.

Afterwards the houſe by a ſpeciall *Comittee*, praying their Lordſhips to joyne with them in Petition to the Queen about matters of Religion, the Lords cauſing the Meſſenger to ſtay in the *Painted Chamber*, after a while ſent out unto them the chiefe Juſtice, and others to tell them that when they received an anſwer from the houſe touching the bill of fraudulent conveyances, the houſe ſhould have anſwere touching the Petition.

Anno 27. *Eliz.* 10. *Martij fol.* 130. In the Journall to the Bill againſt Ieſuites which paſſed from the Lower-Houſe, there were ſome Amendments deſired to be made by the Lords. The Commons by meſſage deſired the Lords to reforme their deſired Amendments in ſome points, which the *Committees* allowed of, the Lords thought it could not bee by order, but the Lower-Houſe reſolved that it might be well holpen by a Proviſo in the Lower-Houſe, and choſe rather to take that courſe, then further to urge their Lordſhips therein.

Anno 27. *Eliz.* 13. *Martij.* The Bill touching the Sabboth (w^ch^ upon divers Conferences of the houſes received divers additions, alterations, and Amendments of amendments, and by

that

that means was much defaced) was ſent down by the Lords & prayed by them that it might be new written, being ſo good a bill, and that examined by a *Committee* of both the Houſes by the bill ſo amended which was yeelded to, and being new written it paſſed againe both the Houſes.

Anno 35. *Eliz.* 3. *Mart.* The bill againſt Popiſh Recuſants firſt paſſed from the Lords was returned with amendments, which the Lords aſſented unto, and ſent downe the ſame againe amended by them accordingly, And alſo a *Proviſo* annexed thereto to be paſſed if the Houſe ſhould thinke good, which was yeelded to, and the *Proviſo* being thrice read was with the bill paſſed accordingly. 6. *Aprill.*

A Proviſo added by the Lords after the Bill paſſed with the.

This is a very remarkeable preſident that a *Proviſo* ſhould be by them who firſt paſſed the bill, and not to have any reference to any alteration or amendment inſerted by direction from the other Houſe.

Queſtion upon amendments & the bill to be put no more to the queſtion.

When amendments are deſired by the Lords to a bill paſt from the Lower-Houſe, and thrice read, The queſtion thereupon ought to be whether the Houſe will be pleaſed to admit of thoſe amendments, and that being yeelded the bill it ſelfe it ought not againe to be put to the queſtion.

If it be reſolved to allow the amendments, the alterations are uſually made by one of the Clarks ſervants ſitting without the *Parliament* dore

doe according to the direction in paper annexed to the Bill, and the Clarke is truſted with the examination thereof.

In the 4. Seſſions of the firſt *Parliament* of King *James* it was conceived by ſome of the Lower-Houſe, that by reaſon that Bills which are paſſed both the Houſes are oftentimes razed in either Houſe, and no mention made, any where of ſuch razures lawfully made that it might give occaſion to Perſons ill diſpoſed to make razures in Bills paſt, much to the prejudice of the Commonwealth; It was therefore moved that the Lord Chancellour for the Upper-Houſe (who ſuyplies the place of *Speaker* there) and the Speaker in the Commons Houſe ſhould ſubſcribe their hands to every Bill ſo razed. And that mention ſhould be made upon the Bill of all razures therein, but this motion was not furaher proſecuted.

Mention of the raizures, and ſigned by the Speakers.

Sect. VII.

Touching the ſending of Bills from one Houſe to another.

When the Speaker hath in his hands a conuenient number of Bills ready paſſed, as five or ſixe or thereabouts, hee then putteth the Houſe

Houſe in mind of ſending them up to the Lords, and deſireth the houſe to appoint Meſſengers, who accordingly doe appoint ſome one principle Member of the houſe to be attendant with others of the houſe for that purpoſe, to whom the bills are delivered in ſuch order, as hee ought to preſent them unto the Lords, which is done by direction of the Speaker, except the Houſe be pleaſed to give ſpeciall direction therein.

The ranking of bils paſſed and ſent up to the Lords.

The order which uſually hath bin obſerved in ranking of them, is, *Firſt to place theſe that came originally from the Lords. Secondly, thoſe that being ſent up unto the Lords from the lower Houſe, were ſent backe to be amended. Thirdly, publique bills originally comming from the lower Houſe, and they to be marſhalled according to their degrees in conſequence. Laſtly, are to bee placed private bills in ſuch order, as the Speaker pleaſeth,* many times the Houſe with a purpoſe eſpecially to grace ſome one bill, ſendeth it alone, ſometimes with ſpeciall recommendations thereof; The Meſſenger for this purpoſe is uſually attended by 30. or 40. of the Houſe as they pleaſe, and are affected to the buſineſſe.

Sometimes one bill ſent up with ſpeciall recommendations.

In the *Parliament* 31. *Eliz.* 17. *Martii*, A private Bill for the relieſe of one *Thomas Haſelridge*, being paſſed by the Lower houſe, was ſent up onely with 4 or 5 Meſſengers. To which the Lords taking exceptions, returned

the Bill, saying, they had cause to doubt that it passed not with a generall consent of the House, because it passed not graced with a greater number, and left it to the consideration of the House, to send it backe in such sort as it was fit.

The principall Messenger which delivereth the Bills to the Lords comming in the first ranck of his Cõpany to the barre of the Lords house, with three Congies, telleth the Lords; the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons House have sent unto their Lordships certaine Bills, and then reading the Title of every bill, as it lyeth in order: and so delivereth the same in humble manner to the Lord Chancellor, who of purpose commeth to the Barre to receive them. Bills sent downe from the Lords to the Lower House, if they bee ordinary Bills, are sent downe by two Doctors of the Civill Law, being Masters of the Chancery, and *Attendants* in the Upper House, accompanied sometimes with the Clarke an *attendant* there.

Bills sent from the Lords.

Bills of greater moment, are usually sent downe by some of the Judges Assistants in the Vpper House, accompanied with some of the Masters of the *Chancery*, who being admitted entrance, doth come up close to the Table where the Clarke sitteth, making three Congies, and there acquainting the Speaker, that the Lords have sent unto the House certaine Bills,

bills, doth read the Titles, and delivereth the bills to the Speaker, and ſo againe departeth with three Congies.

When they are out of the houſe, the Speaker holding the bills in his hands, acquainteth the Houſe, that the Lords by their Meſſengers have ſent to the Houſe certaine bills, and then reading the Title of every Bill, delivereth them to the Clarke to bee ſafely kept, and to be read when they ſhall be called for. *Bills received from the Lords.* *The Speaker reades the Title.*

Bills originally preferred to the Vpper Houſe, have ſuch proceedings in that houſe in all points, as Bills preferred to the Lower Houſe have there: onely when any Queſtion is made in the Vpper houſe, the tryall thereof is by holding up the hands, and if they bee doubtfull, then by telling the poll without dividing of the Houſe.

Sect. VIII.

Touching the Royall Assent.

Royal assent

WHen Bills are thus passed by the Houses, they ought for their last approbation to have the Royall assent, which is usually deferred, till the last day of the Sessions, but it may bee given at any time during the *Parliament*.

Touching which it hath bin much doubted, and oftentimes debated; whether the Royall assent given to any one bill doth not *ipso facto* conclude that present Session, which question is of great consequence. For if thereby the Session be at an end, then ought every other Bill, though it have passed both the Houses be againe read three times in either House, and to have the same proceedings as at first, as if nothing had bin formerly done therein. So must it bee done of all other Acts of the House. But in the first Session of the first *Parliament* of King James, the House being then desirous to have a bill to bee forth-with passed the Royall assent, by which the Warden of the Fleet might be secured, touching the delivery of Sir *Thomas Sherley* out of Execution: For it was then questionable, whether he were subject to an action of escape, did agree that the giving of the Royall Assent to one

one bill or more did not dissolve the Session without some special declaration of his Majesties pleasure to that purpose, 18. *Apr.* 1604.

So likewise, it appeareth by the Journall, *Anno* 1. *& 2 Philippi & Mariæ.* 21. *Novemb.* that the King and Queen came of purpose into the *Parliament House*, to give their assent to Cardinall Poles bill, and upon question made, it was then resolved by the whole House, That the Session was not thereby concluded, but that they might proceed in their businesse, notwithstanding the Royall Assent given.

At the giving of the Royall Assent, it is not requisite, that the King be present in person; For by expresse words of the *Statute* of 33. *H.* 8. *Cap.* 21. The Kings Royall Assent by his *Letters Pattents under the great Seale signed by his hand*, and declared and notified in his absence to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and to the Commons assembled in the higher House, is, and ever was of as good strength and force, as if the King in his person had bin there personally present, and had assented openly and publikely to the same, according to the which *Statute*, the Royall assent was given in Commission in *Anno* 38. *H.* 8. unto the bill for the *Attainder* of the Duke of *Northfolke*. The Royall Assent is given in this sort, after some Solemnities ended, of which mention shall be made in the chap-

ter which teacheth of the Concluſion of the *Parliament*, the Clark of the Crowne readeth the Titles of the bills in ſuch order, as they are in conſequence, as the Title of every bill is read, The Clarke of the *Parliament* pronounceth the Royall aſſent, according to certaine inſtructions, given him from his Majeſty in that behalfe.

If it be a publicke Bill, to which the King aſſenteth, he anſwers,

Le Roy le veut.

If a private Bill, bee allowed by the King, the anſwer is.

Soit fait come il eſt deſiré.

If a publique Bill which the King forbeareth to allow

Le Roy ſe aviſera.

To the Subſidie Bill.

Le Roy remercie ſes Loyaulx Subjects, accepte lour benevolence & auſſi le veult.

To the generall pardon.

Les prodites Seigneurs & Commons en ceſt preſent Parliament aſſemblies, en nom de touts vous autres ſubjects remercient treshumblement voſtre Majeſté & prient Dieu vous donner en ſuite bone vie & longue.

And thus much concerning the paſſage of Bills,

Bills, according to the moderne practiſe. In antient times, the courſe was much differing (as elſe-where ſhall be declared) but that antient order, as it was nothing ſo curious as this, ſo was it not ſo ſafe for the Subject, as by comparing both together, will eaſily appeare.

FINIS.

FINIS.

THE TROVBLERS TROVBLED,

OR

ACHAN CONDEMNED,

AND

EXECVTED.

A

SERMON,

Preached before ſundry of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, at *Weſtminſter*, *April*, 4. 1641.

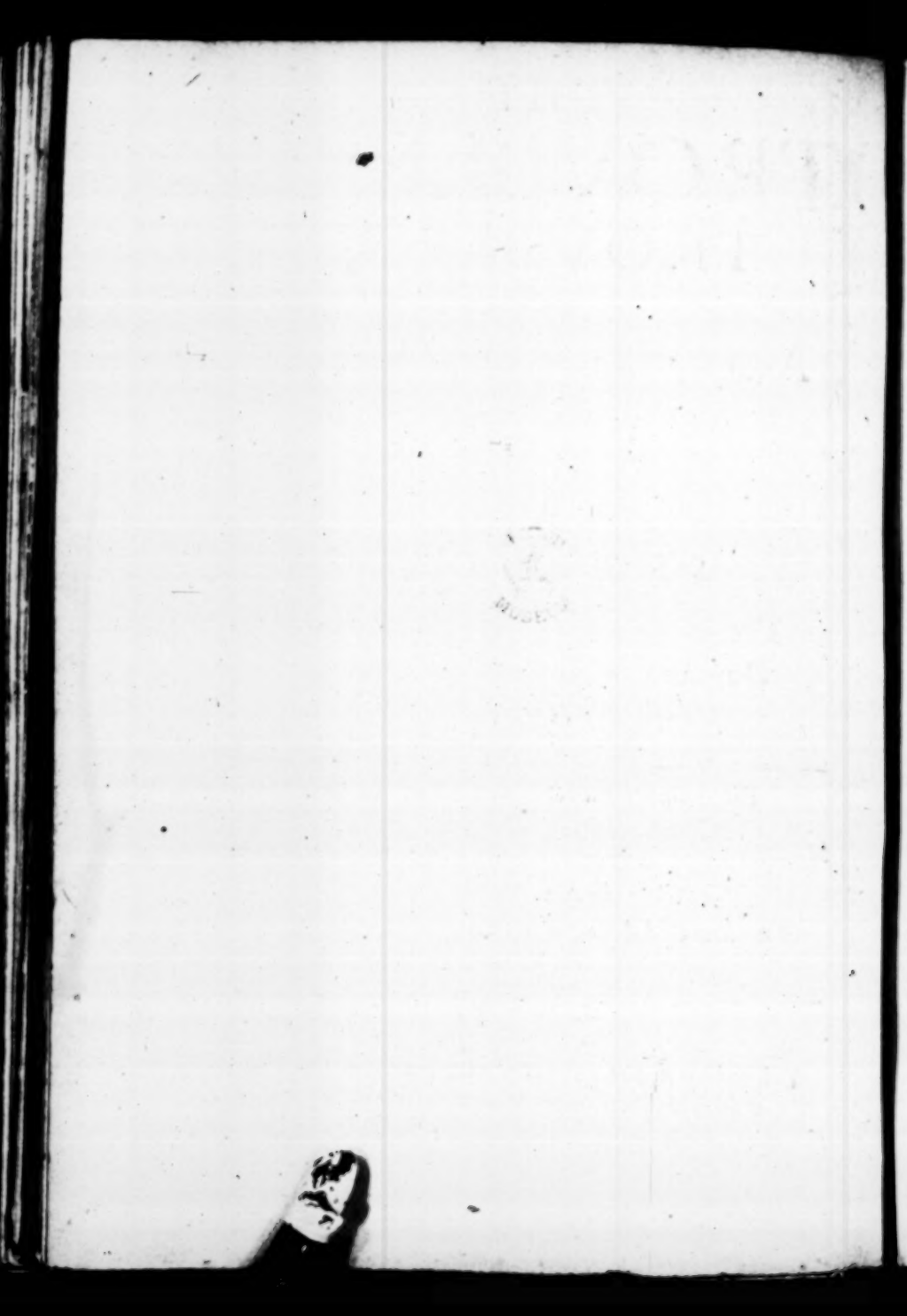
By *Samuel Fairecloth*, Paſtor of the Congregation of *Ketton* in *Suffolke*.

GAL. 5. 12.

I would to God they were even cut off which trouble you.

LONDON.

Printed by *R. Cotes*, for *Henry Overton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the entrance into Popes-head-Alley, out of Lumbard ſtreet. 1641.



TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVLL AND His much honoured PATRON, Sr. *Nathaniel Barnardiston*, one of the Knights of the Shire for the Countie of *Suffolke*.

SIR,

SO remarkeable, and conspicuous, in the view of all the neighbouring parts of our Country, are the expressions of your noble patronage, and support, both of my selfe, and ministry, that each eye (almost) observes it; and more tongues speake of it; yet every pious heart, that ever reaped any profit from my poore, and unworthy labours (next under the free grace of God) acknowledge your selfe the chiefe and grand instrument of the same;

ſame; They are all alſo aſſured, as well as my ſelfe, that it was by your worſhips favour alone, that a perſon ſo obſcure, and undeſerving as I know my ſelfe to be, had the honour to be called to this ſo honourable a ſervice; I meane to deliver any part of Gods truth, to any part of your ſo honourable an aſſemblie; but by whoſe meanes theſe rude notes I then delivered, hire come to the Preſſe, neither they nor my ſelfe as yet doe truely underſtand; onely by a Letter the laſt weeke, from a friend that I am ſure had no hand in it, I was informed of it; with intimation, that (if I pleaſed I might preſent it to what perſon I would; and that (though I refuſed yet) that the Preſſe had proceeded ſo farre, as it could not be reverſed: in all which proceedings, nothing at all pleaſed me, but this onely, that (what inſufficiencies and failings ſoever were by the publiſhing of theſe notes, diſcovered in my ſelfe yet) I ſhould have an opportunitie hereby offered, to make publique confeſſion how much both my ſelfe, and all the Angle where you live, are obliged to your ſelfe, and Familie, for planting and ſupporting the miniſterie of the word and power of the Goſpell amongſt us; and to ſtirre them up ſtill to joyne with mee, in making your worſhips life, ſafety, proſperitie and honour of your familie, the ſubject of our prayers and prayſes: which opportunitie had I let ſlip, your worſhip had not more voyces for you (in your ſo honourable election by your Countrey) to that ſervice wherein you are intruſted, then I ſhould have had againſt me for neglecting upon this occaſion of publi-

ſhing

ſhing Joſhua *his practice againſt* Achan, *to declare to the world that by your countenancing and incouraging the vertuous and oppoſing the profane and vitious, you have approved your ſelfe to the whole Corner in generall, and my ſelfe above all in particular, againſt all the* Achans *and troublers of our peace and libertie, a true* Joſhua; *which ſhall ever be acknowledged by*

Your Worſhips

moſt obliged

SA: FAIRECLOTH.

The Troublers Troubled, Or Achan Condemned, AND EXECVTED.

Josh ua, 7.25.

And Ioſhua ſaid, Why haſt thou troubled us? the Lord ſhall trouble thee this day.

THe juſt judgment of God upon *Achan* by *Joſhua*, for bringing judgment upon Iſraell, in offending in the curſed things, is the ſumme of the Text.

Where, in *Joſhua's* practiſe, as in a mirror is, preſented a concurrence of all graces, a contexture of all vertues neceſſarie to be obſer-

ved in the execution of penall Juſtice, upon publicke offenders. For whatſoever, by way of direction, concerning the Inquiſition, examination, conviction, ſentencing, or execution of publicke malefactors is elſewhere in the Scripture, in *Theſi*, or the rule, is here in *Hypotheſi*, the ſubject, and practice. For all that can be deſired of a Magiſtrate, in this reſpect, is comprehended under thoſe two heads, which *Solomon* in his Prayer, 1. *Kings* 3. 2. *Chron.* 1. 10. begs of his God, to wit underſtanding, to diſcerne between good, and bad; and wiſdome to goe out and in before the people, in judging them accordingly.

The former notes a good head, the latter a good heart; a good head, to know what is to be done; a good heart to doe what is knowne: all that *Solomon* prayes for there, *Joſhua* practices here, the firſt in the forme of a legall inquiſition, and accenſation, *Why haſt thou troubled us?* The ſecond in the forme of a judiciall ſentence and peremptory verdict, *The Lord ſhall trouble thee this Day.* In which accuſation and ſentence, wee will conſider, firſt the particulars, ſecondly the relation of thoſe particulars either to other.

The particulars are theſe.

Firſt, two troublers. Secondly, two troubles. Thirdly, two troubled. and Fourthly, two times of trouble.

The two troublers are firſt *Achan*, ſecondly, the Lord. *Why haſt thou troubled us? the Lord ſhall trouble thee.*

The two troubles: Firſt is *Achans*, and that is a trouble of pollution and infection.

The ſecond, is Gods troubling of *Achan*, and that is

is a trouble of perdition and deſtruction.

The two troubled, are firſt *Iſrael*, the Church and Common-wealth, *Thou haſt troubled us.*

The ſecond is *Achan*, troubled by the Lord; *the Lord ſhall trouble thee.*

Laſtly, the two times of trouble, firſt *Achans* time of troubling of *Iſrael*, paſt, *Thou haſt troubled us*, ſecondly, the Lords time to trouble *Achan*, is to come, but very ſpeedilie without any procraſtination, *the Lord ſhall trouble thee to day*: The relation of theſe particulars either to other, is of the cauſe to the effect, the foure particulars in the accuſation being the cauſe of thoſe foure in the concluſion, and the foure in the concluſion the effect of theſe in the accuſation, becauſe *Achan* is a troubler, therefore God troubles; and becauſe *Achan* troubled *Iſrael*, therefore God troubles *Achan*; and becauſe *Achan* troubled *Iſrael* by infection, God troubles him by deſtruction; and becauſe he had done it in time paſt, God will do it certainly for time to come, and that very ſpeedily; *the Lord ſhall trouble thee to day.* In the foure particulars in the accuſation, we are to learne the cauſe and meanes whereby a flouriſhing Kingdome is overthrowne and troubled:

In the foure particulars in the concluſion, the meanes and remedy, whereby a rent and diſturbed Common-wealth is cured, and repayred; and now

Firſt, of the particulars in the accuſation, and therein of the troubler, and trouble together, being moſt fitly and neceſſarily conſidered, contained the cauſe and perſon whereby *Iſrael* is troubled. 1.

The troubler is *Achan*, ſo his very name proclames him, who is here conſidered not according to his Birth, ſo is he the Sonne of *Labdie* verſe 1. of

the tribe of *Judah*, the tribe royall, &c. nor as a ſubject confeſſing his fault, ſo is he the Sonne of *Joſhua*, verſe 29. but as one that offended in the accurſed thing, verſe 21. ſo is he the Son of *Beliall*, an *Achan*, a troubler of *Iſrael*, and the cauſe of Gods troubling him, from whence this poſition is deduced.

1 *Doct.* Thoſe in a Nation that offend in that which the Lord hath execrated, are the perſons by whom the Church and Common-wealth are ruined, and diſturbed of what tribe ſoever they be.

Behold *Achan* of the tribe of *Judah* by his fingering the Babyloniſh Garment, and the Wedge of Gold, which God had execrated, the armies of *Iſrael*, fleſht with late victories, are weakned, *Joſhua* their Prince and Captaine dejected, the Elders diſcouraged, enemies exalted, three thouſand put to rout, thirtie ſix ſlaughtered, the hearts of all the reſt wounded, and melted like Water, true therefore is the accuſation by *Joſhua*, Thou haſt troubled us, and as true the poſition that is thence deduced, That thoſe in a Nation &c.

Before I proceed to further confirmation of this truth, let me premiſe ſome things by way of explication, of two termes in it.

Firſt what is meant by the accurſed thing.

Secondly, what it is to offend in it.

1. For the firſt, *cherem* tranſlated execrable or accurſed חֵרֶם note properly two things.

Firſt, ſuch a thing which God hath deſtinated to finall deſtruction, and totall aboliſhment, ſo the *Canaanites* Idols, Temples, Altars and Images were *cherem Deut.* 7. 5. to be taken away from under Heaven, and ſo fitly tranſlated accurſed.

2. Secondly, it notes any thing for ever devoted and

and consecrated to God without any liberty of alienating it from him by Redemption: so the vowes, dedicated things, and persons that were so reserved to Gods use, that they might not be redeemed or impropriated from it, *Leviticus* 27. 28. are called *cherem*, in a true sense fitly rendred, excommunicated from common uses. The Greeke renders both the senses fitly in one word *anathema*, which is any thing set apart either *sursum*, or *seorsum*: first *sursum* from us to God by Devotion, so the goodly gifts dedicated to the Temple, are by *Luke* 21. 5. called *anathemata*; or *seorsum* from us, and God, also by finall destruction, so *Paul* called the man accursed *Rom.* 16. 22. that is ever to be separated from God.

Thus you see what is the accursed thing, *viz.* any thing finally separated from man, and devoted to God; or secondly any thing destinated to utter abolishment by God: now to offend in this is done two waies, either by impropriation or appropriation.

First by impropriating from God what he hath especially reserved.

Secondly, by appropriating to our selves any thing which he hath appointed to be fully destroyed. *Achan* offended both waies, but for the first he impropriated from God the Wedge of Gold, which the Lord had peculiarly reserved to himselfe, chap. 6. v. 19. and secondly appropriated to himselfe the Babylonish garment which God had appointed to be burnt and abolished. chap. 6. verse 18.

These things thus premised by way of explication, I proceed to the confirmation to demonstrate that those in a Nation that offend in either of these

waies in that which God hath execrated are the perſons by whom the Common-wealth is diſturbed; which would be moſt evident to thoſe that in the ſacred Chronicles of the Scripture, ſhall obſerve the Lords juſt proceeding againſt *Achans*, under what government ſoever they lived, whether Patriarchs, Judges, or Monarchs, in all which thoſe that did offend in that which God had execrated were the perſons, &c.

Primo Adami there was a government inſtituted by God immediately, of univerſall peace, civil, nationall, domeſticall, ſpirituall, corporall peace, nothing but peace, peace; yet *Adam* and *Eve* there, as *Achan* here, tooke but one bit of the excommunicated thing, that God had ſpecially reſerved, and thereby became *Achans*, troublers of all the peace publicke, ſo that he made himſelfe and all the world *anathema*, an accurſed thing thereby. After, when peace begun to be reſtored, and religion repayred in the Familee of *Seth*, the ſonnes of God offended in the execrable thing in marrying the Daughters of excommunicate *Caine*, and ſo not onely diſturbed, but brought ruine and deſtruction upon the whole World, *Gen.* 6. v. 2, 7. When that great Law-giver *Moſes*, with Lawes judiciall, morall and alſo Ceremoniall, totally divine, had ſetled the glory and peace of the Church, and Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, the people offending in the accurſed thing of the Golden Calfe, ſo diſturbed all that notwithſtanding Law and Government alſo, they were like to be conſumed as one man and wholly extirpated, *Exod.* 32. *Saul* was a Monarch annoynted of God himſelfe, 2. *Sam.* 1. 15. elected by the vehement deſire of all the ſubjects, yet offending in the execrable thing



thing of *Agag*, reſerving but one perſon which God had deſtinated to uter deſtruction, utterly ruinated his Government, and poſterity. *Solomon* the Prince of peace, that had a Patent of peace, 1. Kings. 11. 11. and ſuch skill in Government as never any Monarch before him, or after him ſhall attaine, yet by offending in the execrable thing of *Chemoſh* and *Milcome* diſturbed the peace publique, and made ſuch a rent in his Kingdome, as could never after be repaired. *Machiavill* himſelfe in his Booke *De Repub:* gives us one ground for this, whilſt perſwading Kings, above all things, if they meane to maintaine obedience of their ſubjects to themſelves, and peace one with another, to poſſeſſe them with reverence of divine things, and feare of divine vengeance, as well as terror of humane penalty: for, ſaith he, whoſoever makes no ſcruples, to neglect or offend againſt theſe, will make much leſſe, when occaſion is offered, to plot ſedition, to accommodate themſelves to changes, to practice Treaſon, though to the utter overthrow of the whole Government. And ſurely he that is ſo looſe conſcienced, and deſperate, that he feares not with *Achan* to offend in the Babyloniſh Garment, though he doth thereby incurre, and expoſe himſelfe to the curſe of the King of Heaven, hath no banks, or bonds to reſtraine him when occaſion is offered, to ruine others, to diſturbe and trouble Church and Commonwealth, and to turne Traytor to the beſt eſtabliſhed Government, or Governours on the Earth.

But to leave the *Atheiſt*, ask *Joſhua* in the Text where thoſe that offend in the things that God hath execrated &c. he tells you becauſe that by offending in things accurſed, they drive away the fountaine of all peace from it, even God the ſole Author and giver of all publicke peace, and tranquillity: ſo ſaith God himſelfe to *Joſhua*, v. 12. Except you take away

the

the accurſed thing from among you, I will be with you no more: and woe unto any State when God departs from them, and will come no more at them in peace, but wrath. Which alſo every *Achan* offending in the execrable thing cauſeth God to doe, even to trouble the people with all adverſity, and bring forth his wrath againſt them, utterly to deſtroy them: ſo ſayth the text, verſe 1. of this Chapter, *The anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael, becauſe Achan treſpaſſed in the abominable thing.* Seeing therefore theſe *Achans* by their offending in this kind, drive away the Lord as a Friend, and bring him againſt the State as an Enemy, it muſt needs follow that ſuch are the perſons, &c.

This leſſon God taught *Joſhua*, verſe the 12. and this leſſon *Joſhua* hath taught us in the words of the text, in calling *Achan* the troubler of *Iſrael*.

Applic: Firſt, if God and *Joſhua* ſay that *Achans* offending in theſe things are troublers of the Common-wealth, how ſtrongly is our great maſter *Ariſtot'e* and his Schollers confuted that defend that wicked men may be good Common-wealths men, an *Achan* be a *Joſhua*, a troubler, a ſaviour of it. I confeſſe if by *good*, they underſtand good accidentally, ſuch good as God, and the State in which they live, may make good uſe of, I deny it not in that ſenſe, ſo may God and his people make good uſe of Plague, Famine, or the Sword, yet are they not formally good, but deſtructive to the Common-wealth; even ſo all offenders in the accurſed thing are formally as great evills to the Church and Common-wealth where they live, as theſe evills are, for they cauſe God to ſend theſe and many more, and alſo turne away his favour from it. Could *Achan* have ſpoken as well as *Turtullus*; had he knowne the Law as well as *Moſes*; had he kept as great a Houſe in his Countrey, and ſpent as much proviſion

proviſion, as *Solomon* did in *Jeruſalem*, yet had not the Wedge of Gold in his tent, and the Babyloniſh Garment on his backe, beene greater evills to the State, then the other good things could have recompenſed? ſo though a man be a deepe Scholler, an eloquent ſpeaker, skilfull in the Lawes of his Countrey, a bountifull Houſe-keeper, yet himſelfe an *Achan*, a Blaſphemer, an enemy to the power of Religion, a friend or a better to wickednes, or have the accurſed Wedge of Gold, by oppreſſion, ſimony, extortion, or bribery in his Tent, he is no good Commonwealths man, but an *Achan*, and a troubler of it.

2 *Applic.*

Secondly, as it ſerves to confute this erroneus tenent concerning evill men; ſo it ſerves for further direction to all good men, eſpecially all *Joſhuahs*, men in place, and Authority, whoſe love to their Countreys welfare have both formerly, and of late laid them with *Joſhua* upon their faces, before the Lord, in faſting and prayer, in ſeeking the welfare, and peace of the Church, to theſe this poſition ſpeakes, as the Lord to *Joſhua*, why lie you on your faces? riſe, and ſearch, *Iſrael* hath ſinned, there is an *Achan*; him muſt you ſeeke out among your Tents, if you will have your prayers prevalent for the peace of *Iſrael*; upon which intelligence *Joſhua* ſearches narrowly, and warily, for *Achan*.

Firſt narrowly, ſo that though but one in all the Tents of *Iſrael*, and he hid, yet he finds him out.

Secondly, warily, taking no other rule for diſcovery but the lot of God; let us alſo therefore to our ſupplications, joyne our narrow inquiſition, in ſearching out throughout all our Tribes, and Tents of *Iſrael*, to diſcover this execrable perſon, that fights againſt our peace, and welfare, looke if there be never a Babyloniſh Garment in our Tents, and Families: this narrow ſearch God enjoyneth *Joſhua*, and *Iſ-*

rael after their Prayer; and this ſearch and information have both God, and our honourable Aſſembly of *Joſhuahs* required of all perſons, by their late order, requiring, and inciting us to be active, in our inquiſition and information: wherein that our diligence and narrow ſearch for *Achans* may not be fruitles, nor miſcarry, let us obſerve *Joſhuahs* rules of diſcovery as well as our diligence of inquirie, to wit, with the lot of God, the direction of Gods word in our hands, let him onely whom God by his word, not men by their malice ſhall call *Achans*, troublers of the peace of the Church, be ſo accounted; Aske *Ahab* who troubled *Iſrael*, and he overſees all *Baal's* Prieſts in his Family, and tells you it is baniſhed *Eliah* that is the *Achan*: if you aske *Amaziah* the high Prieſt of *Bethell*, he tells you that *Amos* the prophet is an *Achan*, and conſpirator againſt the King, and therefore to be baniſhed from the Kings Chappell: if you aske *Haman* the favorite with the Kings Seale on his hand, he tells you that all the Jewes are *Achans*, People that will not pay toll or Cuſtome, but are rebellious and refractory to all Lawes tending to the Kings Profit: if you aske *Tertullus* the advocate and lawyer, he tells you that *Paul* is an *Achan*, a ſectarie and mover of ſedition: if you inquire of the reſt of the *Prieſts*, *Scribes*, and *Phariſes*, they tell you that Chriſt himſelfe is an *Achan*, and an enemy to *Cæſar* his temporall juriſdiction, becauſe he deſires to whip out the Buyers and Sellers in the Temple; and to erect the ſpirituall Kingdome and Government of his Father in their conſciences: but if you enquire of the oracle of God, it will tell you that none of theſe, but every one of their accuſers were *Achans*, and that all theſe may retort upon their adverſaries as *Elijah* to *Ahab*. We have not troubled *Iſrael*, but thou and thy Idolatry are the curſed Wedges and Babyloniſh Garment

Garment that have brought all diſturbance upon us.

By this lot then expreſly the Tridentine Papiſt, the Froggs and Locuſts of *Rome*, croaking over the Land are *anathema* accurſed things, troublers of our *Iſrael*, as appeares by *Pauls* ſentence in expreſſe words againſt 1. *Gal.* 1. whilſt he affirmes, if either he or an Angell from Heaven, ſhould Preach any other doctrine then Juſtification by grace, they were to be held an *anathema*, and accurſed things. If therefore Angells from Heaven for Preaching an other doctrine are anathematized, how much more the Jeſuits, and Seminaries from *Rome*, that Preach cleane contrary Doctrines among us, and that of purpoſe to trouble and overthrow our peace, who have not only brought Babyloniſh Garments, Babyloniſh Maſſes, Crucifixes, Images, Indulgences, among us, but Babylonians alſo to ware them, thereby hoping alſo to build up *Babel* it ſelfe at laſt among us?

And as by this light the Idolatrous Romaniſt is diſcovered to be an *Achan*, ſo alſo by the ſame ground the impious prophaner of the Sabbath, the blaſphemous abuſer of Oathes, the Simoniacall patron, the Sacrilegious Pluraliſt, and unconſcionable non-Reſidents are diſcovered to be *Achans*, and troublers of *Iſrael* alſo, which will be very manifeſt to every Judicious hearer, that ſhall with *Chryſoſtom* of old, and *Druſius* of late, obſerve that it is onely a peremptorie, univerſall & inhibition from God, and the annexing of a publicke commination & nationall puniſhment, in caſe any one did not obey it, that made the Wedge of Gold, and the Babyloniſh Garment, the accurſed things, as is moſt evident from the 17. 18. verſes of the former chap. from which grounds we conclude who ever offends in any thing ſo inhibited with penaltie of nationall puniſhment is an *Achan* ſtill; both which and all before ſpoken doe plainely declare

those before named to be all *Achans* and troublers of the peace, &c.

First of all, doth not the impious prophanation of the Sabbath impropriate from God that which he hath ever reserved to himselfe, without any redemption by appropriating it to unnecessary journeys, hellish and lascivious revellings, wicked sports, and recreations? hath not God inhibited it peremptorily, above a hundred times in expresse Scripture? hath he not annexed a commination of publicke vengeance for it, *Amos*, 8. even to set fire on the Gates of our chief City therefore? *Jerem.* 17. hath not this of late troubled most of the Lords Hosts, made the hearts of the Elders melt like Water, slaughtered more then twice thirty sixe, in respect of their livelyhood, and calling? who then can doubt that a prophaner of the Sabbath is an *Achan* and troubler of *Israel*?

Secondly, doth not the blasphemous abuser of Oathes impropriate from God and appropriate to common uses, that which is more deere to God then all the Wedges of Gold in the World, I meane the due reverence to his name? hath he not peremptorily and universally forbidden it, Thou shalt not take my name in vaine, Above all things sweare not? hath he not annexed a publicke commination, when he saith because of Oaths the whole Land shall mourne, and if we feare not that glorious name he will make our Plagues wonderfull? *Levit.* 26. Did not *Jonathan* say truely of his owne Father *Saul*, that he had troubled the Land, by imposing an unnecessary Oath whereby the hony was trodden under foot, the eyes of the people blinded, and the best of the Souldiers weakened for want of it? Surely therefore the irreligious abuser of Oathes, is an accursed thing; which how lightly censured from men, shall be heavily punished by God, even till the whole Land mourne for the trouble

trouble it brings upon them, which muſt of neceſſity follow, that the toleration of that execrable ſwearing and Blaſphemy that wee heare belched out in the the Streets as wee paſſe along in City and Country, in Court and Univerſity, muſt needs bee execrable things, and above all ſuch Oaths as are impoſed of purpoſe, and particular intentions, to enſnare and and bring into trouble, the moſt peacefull ſpirits of the Land; a blaſphemous abuſer of Gods name is an *Achan.*

Thirdly, doth not the Simoniacall, and irreligious patron alſo offend, in the accurſed thing, both by impropriation and appropriation?

Firſt, impropriating from Gods Temples, and people, their power and liberty that God hath reſerved to them, in chooſing and conſenting to the choice of their ſpirituall guides? I will not now diſpute *de jure patronatus*, nor *de facto* in generall of all; for I know many have to their own everlaſting praiſe, & to the profit of Gods people, diſcharged their conſciences and their truſt therein; but in particular I affirme when a patron, popiſh, prophane, blaſphemous, and happily a ſtranger and enemy to all that are good in the place, by vertue of humane Title ſhall impoſe againſt conſent, and ſound reaſon, given unto him, a ſuperſtitious, unlearned, idle perſon, over them, he offends in the execrable thing and is an *Achan*: Nor onely an *Achan* for impropriating the choice, but appropriating the Wedge reſerved alſo. Here I directly fall not upon impropriations that are tolerated by Law, yet give them the Lawyers watch-word, *Caveat emptor*, but the appropriating that to himſelfe which ſtill both by the Law, and conſcience, yea and Oath alſo is fully reſerved to the Church, is offending in the execrable thing, when a patron ſhall before or after the preſentation, reſerve the Wedge of his

owne, Tiths from the incumbent, and then send *Simon* to the Bishop to begin the first part of his office to the people, by perjury before God, doth he not offend in the execrable thing? is he not also an *Achan*?

I know what these patrons would retort against thee, soule-murthering and unconscionable Pluralist and non-Resident: what is it not as fit for a patron to impropriate a Wedge, as for the incumbent to impropriate himselfe from the people? are we greater *Achans* for taking one or two yeares profit from the incumbent, then he for taking all the rest from the Curate? may not a Patron present an unworthy Parson, or Vicar, as well as the Parson an insufficient Curate? *Quis tulerit Gracchos &c.* who is able to heare, much more to answer these tart obliquies against these Soule-murdering *Priests* as they call themselves? for my part if I could I had rather hide, then uncover the nakednesse of our Fathers; but yet since wee are in inquisition for *Achans*, I dare not conceale them; onely as naked as I found them, so naked do I leave them, or at least with nothing but a Babylonish Garment to cover them: even a Wedge of Gold, wrapped in a Babylonish Garment, is an unconscionable non-resident & a troubler of *Israel*. Having thus farre proceeded in discovering of these five sorts of *Achans* by this light of God his word, suffer me now to cast the lot into the lapt of the Honourable House, and deliver the light to your judgments, further to discover more *Achans* by it, humbly desiring your resolution to these few quæries, I shall from my text propound unto you. First, concerning the Babylonish Garment. Secondly, the Wedge of Gold. Thirdly, *Josua*. Fourthly, *Achan*. Concerning the Babylonish Garment this is my quæry, whether you conceive not the setting forth, and publishing of Babylonish Doctrines, Babylonish gestures, Pictures, and Altars, in Gods house, be not as an accursed



sed thing as to hide a Babyloniſh Garment in a private tent of an Iſraelite?

Secondly, concerning the Wedge, this is my quary, whether it be not as great a ſacriledge to robbe the Temple of God, of *Aarons* Bells, the Silver Trumpets, the Golden Shelves, and Golden Candleſticks, I meane the pretious gifts and labours of Gods faithfull Miniſters, as for *Achan* to ſteale a materiall Wedge, devoted to the Temple out of the ſpoyle of the *Canaanites*? 2.

Thirdly, concerning *Ioſhua* this is my quary, whether *Ioſhua* had not offended as well as *Achan*, if after he had burnt *Achan* for ſtealing the Garment, and Wedge, he had not alſo burnt the Garment as well as *Achan*, and reſtored the Wedge to the Temple againe from whence it was taken by him, if God had required it of them, as he doth the reſtoring of our faithfull Miniſters, to their place againe? 3.

Fourthly, concerning *Achan* this is my quary, whether if *Achan*, beſide taking the Garment, and Wedge himſelfe, had compelled the reſt of his Tribe, to have taken the Wedge, and Garment alſo, by puniſhing the refuſall with the loſſe of their owne Wedges and Garments, had not ſuch a one beene among *Achans*, as *Belzebub* among the Devills, the Prince and chiefe of them? Conſider, conſult, and give your ſentence, and I doubt not but you will conclude by this ſearch that for one *Achan* in a whole hoſt of *Iſrael* we have whole hoſts of *Achans* in our Tents; every one of which may not onely bring trouble upon themſelves, perſons, and places, and families, thereby, but upon all our families alſo, yea and upon all the Kingdome as well as *Achan*, the conſideration whereof leads me from the troubler and trouble to the troubled in the accuſation even the troubled hoſt of *Iſrael*. (*Thou haſt troubled us.*) 4.

The

The persons by this one *Achan* troubled, are the whole congregation of the Children of *Israel*, as is cleare from the 1 verse to the 7. of this chap. not only *Achans* owne Family, Sons and Daughters, but *Ioshua* and the people are troubled by it; whence observe,

2 *Doct.* That a whole nation in generall may be guilty of the sinne, and punishment committed by one *Achan* in particular; none stole but *Achan*, none of all *Israel* had the Garment but *Achan*, yet God saith verse 1. the Children of *Israel* committed a trespasse, for *Achan* tooke the accursed thing, and *Ioshua* here, *Why hast thou troubled us?*

This point is so difficult to be received, that *Numb.* 16. 22. it made *Moses* begin to expostulate with God, upon his knees, Shall one man sinne and wilt thou be wrath with the whole congregation? yet is it of most undoubted truth and veritie, as appeares in the Scripture which shewes us, that God imputed the sinne of one man in particular not onely to a whole nation present, when the sinne was committed, but to a future Generation, living long after the offender was departed: for the present, witnes the whole congregation of God, *Ioshua* 22. who collecting this very lesson that wee noted from these words, adds two other instances for further confirmation of it, *Did not Achan the sonne of Zerah offend? and that man perished not alone in his iniquity*; againe, *Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us from whence we are not cleansed unto this day, though wrath came upon all the congregation? and yee sinne to day and to morrow the Lord will be wroth with all the house of Israell.* Sutable to which is that of the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 5. affirming that the execrable accursed thing of incest in one of the members, had infected the whole lumpe of the Church and every member of it.

And for the future you may see, 2 *Sam.* 27. when *Saul* was long dead, the Famine came upon all the congregation

congregation of *Iſrael* in *Davids* time; and when *David* enquired of God wherefore the Famine was, God told him, it was for *Saul*, and his bloudy houſe, becauſe he ſlew the *Gibeonites*, yea after *Joſiahs* time, the Lord puniſhed the people for the ſinne of *Manaſſes*, 2 *Kings* 24. 3. yea for ſinne committed ſince they came out of *Egypt*, 2 *Kings* 27. 15.

The reaſon of this truth, upon which it is grounded, is the large and ſpreading nature of ſinne, unto others beſides thoſe that actually commit it: the Scripture demonſtrates this three waies by ſhewing how many may be guilty of the ſinne that one commits; *Reaſon.*

Firſt acceſſarily, ſecondly occaſionally, thirdly politically.

For the firſt, many may be guilty of the ſinne acted by one acceſſarily, when the actor is furthered in his ſinne, by the conſent, and privity of another, and that either *à parte antè*, or *à parte poſt*.

Firſt *antè* three waies.

Either by commanding it; ſo *David* killed *Uriah* the *Hittite*, with the Sword of the Children of *Ammon*, 2 *Sam.* 12. becauſe he commanded *Joab* to ſet him in the fore-front:

Secondly by counſelling; ſo the high Prieſts are ſaid with cruell hands to kill the Lord of glory, becauſe they counſelled the people to cry, *crucifie him, crucifie him*, *Acts* 4.

Thirdly by provoking or inticing, and ſo *Eve* was in the tranſgreſſion and not *Adam*, becauſe ſhe incited him thereto, *Gen.* 3.

Secondly *à parte poſt*, though he had no notice of it before; and that,

Firſt, by conſenting after the fact is done, ſo *Ahab* is ſaid to kill *Naboth*, becauſe, after *Ieſabell* had done it without his knowledge, he conſented by taking poſſeſſion of his Eſtate.

Secondly, by defending it, so the *Benjamites*, *Judges* 20. are guilty and punished for the rape of *Gibeah*, though they knew not of it before, because they defended them against the execution of justice, after it was committed.

Thirdly, by conniving, and that either by not reproving, if wee have place to doe it; so the Minister is guilty of his peoples sins, *Ezek.* 3. *If thou reprove him not, his blood will I require at thy hands*; or not sorrowing for it, if no place of reproofe, so all the *Corinthians* were leavened, because the Apostle tels them they ought to have sorrowed, and did not; all these waies may a whole Nation be guilty of the sinne of one man, and yet none of these waies was *Israel* guilty of *Achans* sinne.

2. The second kind of guilt is occasionall guilt, which is, when the actor is furthered in his sinne without our purpose, privity or consent; as *David* was guilty of the Blasphemy of Gods Enemies, occasioned by his fall; *Thou hast given occasion, saith God, to the enemies of God to Blaspheme*, 2 *Sam.* 12. This occasionall guilt is either culpable, or inculpable: inculpable, when the sinne of another riseth from that which in it selfe is both materially and formally good: so God deferring of sentence against wicked ones, *Eccles.* 8. is said to be the cause of their going on in their sinne, yet inculpable because materially and formally good.

Secondly, Culpable occasionall guilt, is when another is furthered in his sinne, by that wich is materially or formally evill in us, which culpable guilt is either by not restraining, or furthering of it occasionally.

First, wee are guilty occasionally for not restraining sinne, so *Eli* of his Sons sinnes, 1 *Sam.* 3. because they runne themselves into a slander, *and he restrained them not*: and that,

First, when wee neglect to restraine it by Authority: so

ſo when the people in *Nehemiahs* time bore burthens on the Sabbath, *Nehemiah* ſaith to the rulers, What thing is this that you doe in breaking the Sabbath in bearing burthens? becauſe they reſtrained not the porters therefrom.

Secondly, by neglecting of vigilancy in watching to keepe each other from it; and ſo I conceive all *Iſrael* was guilty of *Achans* ſinne, for not watching over him, and reſtraining him from the ſame; I know other reaſons are given, but this ſeemes to be the beſt grounded from the text.

Both becauſe God tells them before-hand chap. 6. verſe 18. that though all but one abſtained, yet if any one did offend he would puniſh them all for it.

Secondly, the precept is not only *Cavete*, take heed, but *Cuſtodite*, ſet a watch about others; which had they done, it had beene impoſſible, but ſome one in ſuch a company had diſcovered *Achan* in his theevery.

And as a whole nation may be guilty of the ſinne of one man by not reſtraining it, ſo likewiſe by doing that which ſhall occaſionally further it, and that firſt by example; thus *Peter* is guilty of the *Iewes* and *Gentiles* conformity to the aboliſhed Ceremonies by his example and is ſaid to conſtraine them, *Gal.* 2.

Secondly, by giving opportunity to ſinne, as negligence makes theeves. *Iudas* is ſaid to purchaſe the field, *Acts.* 1. becauſe he threw downe the money, which gave occaſion to the *Iewes* to purchaſe it.

Thirdly, by Imitation of men in their ſinnes; thus the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in the 23. *Matth.* are ſaid to be guilty of all the bloud of the Prophets, that went before them, by imitating their malice; and exerciſing it againſt the Lord *Ieſus*, the head of Prophets, that then was with them.

Theſe many waies way a whole Nation be guilty of the offence of one occaſionally; yet neither of theſe

waies were the infants of *Achans* Familie guilty of the ſinne of *Achan*, and therefore the Scripture tells us of another guilt, which is a politicall guilt, meerly paſſive and no waies active, not of the ſin at all, not puniſhment eternall, but temporall, and externall, which ariſes from the linkes and bonds, of politicke, and civill ſociety, whereby as members of the ſame body they are made partakers of the good, and evill belonging to either of them, in politicke things, as in the title which Lawyers call Franke pledges, wherein the Tenants are joyntly, and ſeverally bound to their Lord, and one to another, ſo that if one forfeit their eſtate, all forfeit with themſelves ſo in politicall guilt it comes to paſſe, as wee ſee in the death of Infants for their Parents, Subjects for Kings ſinne and tranſgreſſions. I know ſome goe about to vindicate Gods juſtice, by affirming that God found juſt matter in the moſt innocent, to juſtifie his rodde. Which though it be true, yet under correction, it ſuits not with the Scripture phraſe, for it ſaith, *That the Famine in Davids time, was for Sauls bloudy houſe, not their owne ſinne*: and therefore it is by politicall guilt; wherein yet the equity of Gods juſtice, and diſpenſation may be cleared from this, that as innocent perſons, by vertue of politicall tyes and bonds, partake of many temporall rodds by occaſion of wicked mens ſinnes: ſo do they alſo receive many temporall commodities from their ſervices; the very Children of *Achan*, had formally received that life from him, which now they loſe by him.

Applic. 1. Firſt take notice then how much evill the ſparing or tolerating of one *Achan* may doe in a tent, a Familie, a Countrey, or Kingdome, nay in a world, he may doe a whole world hurt, as *Rom.* 5. By one man ſinne entred into the world, and death by ſinne; eſpecially if he be in place of power and authority in Church or Common-wealth, or both; oh how much miſchiefe may

may ſuch a one doe acceſſarily, by commanding, counſelling, and inciting, others to that he dares not doe himſelfe, and after by conſenting, defending, and conniving, either occaſionally by not reſtraining by authority or vigilancie, or by furthering by his example, imitation or giving opportunitie.

Secondly, it ſerves to vindicate and cleere the juſtice of God in bringing publicke calamities, and troubles by and through wicked mens actions upon people that may ſeeme to be actually innocent of theſe crimes: oh before we complaine we ſuffer for others guilt, let us examine whether wee be not one of theſe waies acceſſary, or occaſionally guilty of the crimes wee ſuffer for: and I feare few will be found, but will find ſome part of *Achans* ſinne lie in their owne boſome, either occaſionally or acceſſarily, by furthering or not reſtraining of them. *Applic.* 2.

Thirdly, let none then hereafter ſecure themſelves in perſonall innocency, or reſt in actuall purity, from the ſinnes of the times, he that is as pure as *Ioſhua* in perſon, may be guilty with *Achan* by relation; if God himſelfe therefore ſhould free thee from actuall guilt by his lot, reſt not untill by repentance, and execution of juſtice thou haſt freed thy ſelfe from occaſionall and acceſſary guilt alſo, otherwiſe he that cleeres thee from the act in thy ſelfe, will correct with deadly blowes for conniving and conſenting with others, let me therefore ſay with the Apoſtle to *Titus* 1. *Be not partakers of others mens ſinnes.* Alas then how vainly doe many private perſons bleſſe themſelves in caſting off the blame and danger of the ſinnes of the times upon great men in places, becauſe they thinke it is not their duties to reforme theſe things, but thoſe that have power and authority in their hands to ſuppreſſe them, which ſeeing they themſelves want, it belongs not to them to be grieved for them? but oh deceive not your ſelves herein, *Applic.* 3.

herein, though God hath not given thee a hand to suppresse them, yet he hath given thee a heart to hate them; though God hath not given thee meanes or power to punish them, yet hath he given thee a tongue to protest and pray against them; and for failing in these, thou maist be accessarily and occasionally as guilty for thy part, as they in neglecting their power and place in their part.

And how vainly doe many of our Magistrates with *Pilate* wash their hands from the sinnes of their divisions in Townes and Families by saying, We have nothing to doe in these sinnes of the times, we joyne not in the practice of drunkards, swearers, and incest, &c. when yet they accessarily and occasionally are guilty of all those which by their counsell, power, and authority they might have restrained: the day will one day come, when all their inferiours under them shall lay the burthen of their sinnes to their charge, when such shall say as *Caine*, not onely my sinnes are greater then I can beare, but my neighbours sinnes, my people and Servants sinnes, are greater then I can, and yet must beare them, God charges them upon mee; when they shall say as *Iosh*ua to *Achan*, thou *Achan* troublest us, so these, thou Idolater, Papist, swearer, uncleane person troublest me, for I have beene accessary to your sinnes, and must now answer for them. I knew once an Ale-house keeper taking notice of this truth, went home to his house, crying all the way he went, Oh if I must answer for all the sinnes I have beene accessary unto, how many thousand wicked and intemperate practises, oathes, lies, vaine words have I seen and heard in my house, by them that are now dead, and dyed in the guilt of those sinnes, which I occasioned? what shall now become of mee? And lest wee should thinke it were his folly, or weakenes, *Augustine* himselfe professes it was a thing very hideous to him to thinke of

a Wo-

a Woman with whom in his yong time he had beene wanton, which after he thought dyed in her impenitency, and now, saith he, for ought I know, shee is in Hell-fire for that sinne I drew her unto, and also blaspheames God that I am not there with her. Oh may not the same thoughts be like burning coales in many a mans bosome? but I will spare you: onely for time to come, say to *Achan* wee have sinnes enough of our owne to suffer for, wee will not beare your burthen, you shall not sinne at our Soules cost and charges, but if wee be innocent actually, we will also indeavour our selves to be so occasionally and accessarily, so that no *Achans* offence may bring trouble upon us. And if you aske how this is to be done, what remedy wee are to use in this case, *Joshua* and the Lord tells you in the latter clause of the text, the sentence and conclusion against *Achan*, *The Lord shall trouble you*: And thus I slide from the Troubler, Trouble and troubled in the accusation, to the troubles and troubled in the conclusion, *The Lord shall trouble thee*; which remedy that it may be fully discerned what it is that is the Soule-cure of the troubles of a Common-wealth by *Achans* disturbed, observe the matter out of which it must be wrought, *the troubled*, which is not only *Achan* alone, nor the Wedge and Babylonish Garment alone, in which he had offended, but *Achan* and all his appurtenances, that unto him belonged, his Children, his Cattell, to a hoofe, yea the very tent in which they and the Babylonish Garment were kept and hid, every thing in all the world that belonged to *Achan*.

Secondly, observe *the troubles*, what must be done with them that *Israel* may be cured; not *Achan* to be imprisoned, or banished alone, not to be fined for the Wedge and Babylonish Garment, his Horses not to be curtald, seised and confiscated, his house, and tent, to be removed and altered: but he and all his Followers

stoned,

ſtoned, Tents, and Garments, and Wedge utterly to be conſumed, and burnt to aſhes, in a word all that he hath to be wholly extirpated, and annihilated.

Thirdly, obſerve *the troubler*, the Author and actor that ordaines this cure; not paſſion or revenge in the people troubled, nor humane policy, whoſe equity and moderation might have beene queſtioned, but the Lord who is wiſdome, love, and goodnes himſelfe, he preſcribes it, yea and not onely preſcribes it, but alſo owns the execution of it, *The Lord ſhall trouble thee.*

As if in this cure he would be knowne to be both the preſcriber and adminiſter of the remedy, to all diſturbed Churches. I read not (I confeſſe) that the Lord did immediately throw ſtones from Heaven upon *Achan*, as he did upon the *Canaanites*, *Joſhua* 7. nay I read the contrary, that the Magiſtrate *Joſhua* and the reſt of the people by *Ioſhuahs* appointment, did immediately both burne and ſtone them, and yet the Lord owns this act, and will have the cure fathered upon none but himſelfe, teaching us,

Doct. 3. That the divine policie and heavenly remedy, to recover a Common-wealth and Church by *Achans* indangered, is that thoſe that have authority under God, doe totally aboliſh and extirpate all the curſed things whereby it was diſturbed.

The rather I obſerve this note from the text, becauſe beſides the deſcription of God before opened, the elegant phraſe which the Spirit of God uſeth in ſetting downe the remedy doth ſtrongly perſwade it was principally intended, while the name of the offender, and the name of the offence, and the name of the puniſhment, and the name of the place of the execution, is expreſt by the ſame *Radix* in Hebrew

עָכָן עָכַרְתָּנוּ יַעְכָּרְךָ יְהוָה עֵמֶק עָכוֹר

as if it were thus pend, *Achan* for aconizing is acanized in

in the valley of *Achan*, or Engliſhed thus, the trouble r that troubles a Common-wealth like *Achan*, is to be troubled for the ſame as *Achan*, in the like place of *Achans* trouble, which the Lord himſelfe doth affirme in expreſſe words in the following words, in aſcribing the whole ſucceſſe of *Iſraels* ſafety to *Achans* totall aboliſhment, *Then the anger of God was turned from Iſrael*: I call it therefore a divine policy,

Firſt for the preſcription, ſecondly the practice.

Firſt, the preſcription of God is not onely evident here, but in all other of the like nature, *Exod.* 32. the execrable thing of the golden Calfe troubled the whole Church ſo farre that for it the Tables are broken, the people abhorred, God departed, the whole congregation except *Moſes* to be totally conſumed: how is this to be remedied? *Moſes* fell on his face there, as *Joſhua* here, and makes God cry out *Let me alone, &c.* will this cure it? is this all? no. *Moſes* ſeeth for all Prayers *Iſrael* will not be cured, though ſpared, without a full, and totall extirpation of all the accurſed things and perſons alſo.

Firſt, the accurſed thing the Calfe muſt be aboliſhed, ſtampt, ground to powder, burnt to aſhes and drunke, there is the totall extirpation of the thing; and verſe 25. God ſaith by *Moſes* his mouth, that had prayed for them, Goe through all the Campe from Tent to Tent, and Gate to Gate, and ſlay every man his Neighbour, Friend, Brother and Sonne, that the Lord may beſtow his bleſſing upon you, as if no bleſſing without a full extirpation of perſons, as well as things, verſe 26. 30. The like is ſeene in the courſe of that great trouble which was brought upon the Church by the accurſed things of *Baal Peor*, for which wrath came upon the whole congregation of *Iſrael*, for beſides the zeale of *Phineas* in ſlaying and mitigating the wrath of God by the ſpeedy cutting off of two principall offenders,

the Lord to ſhew that a perfect cure could not be without a totall extirpation, preſcribes it for this end to *Moſes*, and all the Iudges in their circuits, and diviſions. *Moſes* (ſaith the Lord) hang up every head of the people that were joyned to *Baal Peor* that the wrath of God may be turned away, and then that all the Iudges and people may ſlay every man that had defiled themſelves in the execrable things, *Num.* 25.5. And this totall extirpation to be divine preſcription to ſettle & eſtabliſh a Common-wealth diſtempered in peace and tranquillitie, is moſt evident in the frequent injunction and inculcation of it to *Moſes*, and the people of *Iſrael* when they came into *Canaan*, to aboliſh and put downe all accurſed things and perſons from under Heaven, and by their terrible ruins for their partiall extirpation of them.

Neither is this preſcription more divine, then the practice in this particular, witnes the immediate practice of God himſelfe, in repairing the ruined Churches and Common-wealth of the old world, by taking away the execrable things and perſons that then overthrew it; what was done? God brings an univerſall deluge, totall confuſion and extirpation of them all, as if God himſelfe could doe it by no other meanes but this. Sutable to which is that declaration of his, in the whole booke of the Prophets, and the explication of them in the *Revelation*, where the Lord ſetting downe, and foretelling the reparation and reſtauration of the Church upon earth againe, like new Heavens and new Earth where righteouſneſſe ſhould dwell, and be purged from old troubles and abominations, ſhewes it ſhall be brought to paſſe by the full extirpation of all execrable perſons and things, Beaſts, falſe Prophets, Thrones of the Beaſts, Froggs, and Locuſts, name of the Beaſt, and the number of his name. As in the daies of *Noah* alſo, and in the daies of *Lot*: ſo alſo now ſhall the world

world be cured, by a full extirpation: Doth not the practice of *Nehemiah* in repairing the Church warrant it? did he content himselfe onely to purge the Temple of all rubish, the Common-wealth of all *Ashdods* wives and their accursed issues, or thrusting the great enemy *Tobiah* from the house of the Lord? no, but *Tobiah* and all his household stuffe also must out, *Nehe.* 13. 7. shewing this to be the divine policie, &c.

Doth *Mordecay* thinke it sufficient for the *Iewes* safety to prevaile with the King for the cutting off of the Favorite *Haman*, or his next court adherents, or the extirpation of all the Churches enemies, in the Palace to the number of 500. except all the adversaries in all the Kings 127. Provinces be rooted out and totally cut off? The Lord reproving, and blemishing the practices of the best of the Kings of *Israel* for want of full extirpation, in leaving any of the high places untaken away: the Lord rending the Kingdome from *Saul* and his posterity for sparing one *Agag* and a few accursed things, for sacrifice, the fatted beasts of *Amaleck*; and and in declaring that as for want of this thorough exextirpation of all these accursed things, he lost both thankes for what he had done, and Kingdome also; so if he had utterly consumed *Amaleck*, he had thereby for ever setled the Kingdome upon himselfe and his posterity, shewes that it is a divivine policy, both of divine prescription and practice to cure a Common-wealth by *Achans* indangered, &c.

Seeing it is so &c. now let the honourable house take notice whence the hope of the peace of our Church, the prosperity of the Common-wealth, the purity of our Religion, the quietnes of our consciences, from the nationall accessary and occasionall guilt of *Achans* and accursed things in troubling our Common-wealth, must be expected and looked for; even from the valley of *Achor*; the valley of *Achor* is the *Applic.*

onely dore of this hope, it is not our victory with *Saul*, our prayers with *Moſes*, could we pray as ſtrongly as he, our good lawes if as good as thoſe that God wrote in the Tables with his owne hand, nor Parliamentary aſſemblies, nor partiall reformation and execution of Juſtice upon ſome offenders, with as much zeale as *Phineas* againſt *Cosbie* and *Zimry*, that will afford helpe, except that thoſe that are in authority under God extirpate all the *Achans*, and Idolatrous things among us, that all our Idolatrous *Achans*, the Ieſuits, the impious *Achans*, the blaſphemous *Achans*, the ſacrilegious *Achans* with their Babyloniſh Garments, Babyloniſh Orders, Ceremonies, and Geſtures, their Cattell and Tents, be rooted out from among us: this is the divine policy to countерplot all the plots of our adverſaries, to turne Gods wrath from us and to move him to beſtow his bleſſing upon us, to cut off theſe *Achans*, not with a Sithe to lop off the overtopping branches and vaſt extending boughes alone, but to goe to them with a Plough, roote out both body and roote, and all the ſprigs and feeders of them in the Earth where they grow: a meditation never more ſutable then at this time, nor more neceſſary for *Ioſhua* and *Iſrael* in thoſe daies, then for us in our daies, who for one *Achan* in the whole hoſt then, may finde a whole hoſt of *Achans* and execrable things in one City now; who have as many Babyloniſh Garments among us, as there were threads or ſhreads in that one of *Achans*; the removall of which, in reſpect of the multitude, and power, ſeemes ſo unpoſſible to many, that with thoſe faint hearted *Iſraelites* in *Ieremiah*, their hearts faint and are ready to ſay there is no hope; as good with *Iſſachar* be aſſes and beare our burthens, as with *Iſrael* in *Egypt* by ſeeking to eaſe our ſelves of the number of our bricke and taskmakers, to procure our burthens doubled, and increaſed. But what ever theſe ſaid, yet God and *Ioſhua*

ſhewes

ſhewes in the text, that the valley of *Achor* will be the dore of this hope: let me ſay therefore unto you as good *Shechaniah* to *Ezra*, c. 10. 2. We have indeed treſpaſſed in the accurſed thing, and *Achans* have done wickedly and troubled us, but *yet there is hope in Iſrael concerning this*, the Lord ſhall trouble them, that God that cauſed *Ahaſuerus* to hang up *Haman*, that cauſed *Samuel* to hew *Agag* in peeces, that cauſed *Joſhua* to extirpate *Achan*, will inable our *Ioſhuahs* to roote out ours alſo: which that it may be accompliſhed, ſuffer me to proceed with the ſame *Shechaniah* to *Ezra*, to you of the honourable Houſe: Up, for the matter belongs to you, wee alſo will be with you; wee, even all the godly Miniſters of the Countrey as *Aaron* and *Hur* with *Moſes* and *Ioſhua* will be with you, ſtand and faſt and pray to ſtrengthen your hands, ſteady to the worke; all the loyall and godly Commons and people in the Country at your lawfull commands, be ready to joyne with you in caſting ſtones againſt theſe *Achans*; but the matter belongs to you, you muſt doe the deed, you are they that muſt cure us by the totall extirpation of all *Achans* and Babyloniſh Garments among us.

Let me therefore in the name of the Kingdome that is now endangered by *Achans*, in the name of religion corrupted by *Achans*, in the name of all faithfull teachers oppoſed by *Achans*, in the name of all *Iſrael* from *Dan* even to *Beerſheba* who are now diſturbed by *Achans*, preſent this ſupplication to all of you in generall, and to every of you in particular, to thinke of in your walkes, in your private Chambers, in your ſittings, and Committees, to ſave them and theirs from all trouble by them, by your troubling of them as *Ioſhua* troubled *Achan*, to wit, a thorough aboliſhment and extirpation of them.

Doe not, wee beſeech you, conceive that one new peece of Chriſts robes put to a Babyloniſh Garment

will make the rent the leſſe, for ſurely ſuch patching will make the breach the wider; nor thinke that any part of a Babyloniſh Garment will better agree to Chriſts ſpouſe, then the dirty feete of clay in *Nebuchadnezars* Image could temper with his iron Leggs or Head of Gold: what communion hath Chriſt with *Belial*, or the Temple of God with Idols? but rather as that reformation, that ſaves our Soules from the *Achans* of Hell, ſpeak, Behold all old things muſt paſſe, all things become new: ſo in this reſtauration that cures our Church and Common-wealth from the *Achans* on Earth, let all accurſed things paſſe away, and all things become new, according to the patterne in the Mount; doe in this caſe as *Darius* his Generall, that having order from his King to revenge wrongs done to his Subjects by his adverſaries the *Athenians*, cauſed his Servants every diſh of Meate brought to his Table, to cry, Sir remember the *Athenians*: So that *Ioſhua's* counſell may every meale and meeting, &c. report this in your thoughts, Sir remember the *Achans*. The Eaſt winde did no ſooner cure *Egypt* of the Frogs of *Nilus*, then this courſe would *England* of all the *Achans* and Frogs of *Tiber*. Little doe Magiſtrates know the Majeſty and authority God hath graven in their foreheads, to daunt and chaſe away theſe wicked *Achans*, by their frownes, and verball diſcouragements, to them; *Curtes* reports that it was ſome eaſe to the poore *Indians* in their death to heare one another raile on the *Spaniards* cruelty; but ſure I am, the verball oppoſition, and admirable ſpeeches of our *Ioſhua's* in the Houſe againſt *Achans* of the times, together with their votes in extirpating of them doth marvellouſly not onely eaſe, but rejoyce the hearts of the poore troubled *Iſrael* in the Countrey: but now to this verball oppoſition, adde but a reall execution and a totall extirpation of them, and then have wee all wee crave of

God

God, or can expect from men.

Thus to oppoſe and aboliſh *Achans*, and Babyloniſh Garments, is better done then ſaid, but much ſooner ſaid then done, elſe how comes it to paſſe that ſo many *Achans* at our Countrey Seſſions, and Aſſizes, &c. are diſcovered, and ſo few ſuppreſſed? even becauſe when ſome bend themſelves wholly to ſave their Countrey and Conſcience by legall puniſhment of them, others bend their heads and ſtudies to invent evaſions, and to coyne excuſes, and apologies for them: ſo that now the proverb is, good Ale and the tap houſes ſeldome want a friend in the bench; doe not wee ſometimes ſee that even in the Tents of thoſe that ſhould be our *Ioſhua's*, Magiſtrates, and in the Townes of their owne reſidence, more execrable and accurſed things are practiſed under their ſhelters then elſewhere? If the Babyloniſh Garment lye ſafe in their owne Tents, how can they perſecute the ſearch of it in an Ale-houſe or elſewhere? Black-ſmiths that heare continuall knocking within their ſhops, ſeldome looke out at the noyſe in the Streets. But where goe I? *mihi accuſatio etiam vera diſplicet contra magiſtratum*; I am not now at a petty Seſſions or countrey Aſſizes, but before all the *Ioſhua's* in *Iſrael* aſſembled together for this end to reſtore the Peace of the Kingdome, to the Church and Common-wealth; loth would I be to caſt the leaſt aſperſion or ſuſpition of any ſuch thing among you; onely let mee ſuggeſt thus much unto you, that this *Ioſhua* in my text, that did here inquire for the Babyloniſh Garment in *Achans* Tent, did alſo before all *Iſrael* enter into covenant for his own Tent and Houſe, I and my houſe will ſerve the Lord. πῶς οὖ πεῖσθήσεσθε σύμφωνον ἐλπίζεις τὸν λαὸν, αὐτῷ ἀσύμφωνος ὤν: ſaith the Philoſopher from *Plato*: how ſhall Law-makers hope their Laws will be obſerved by others afterward, when they are no ſooner made, then broken in the Tents and

hands

hands of thoſe that firſt made them? Thou art inexcuſable oh man that thus judgeſt or makeſt law, for in that thou judgeſt another and doeſt the ſame thing, thou condemneſt thy ſelfe. For the avoiding of this, & ſatisfying the contrary expectation from you, I beſeech you remember now the loud exclamations of all the Free-holders in the Countrey in your Countreys election, doe now with the ſame vehemencie require and cry out unto you to give out your votes for the full extirpation of all the accurſed things among us.

The text beſides the duty affords three motives unto you, firſt hereby you ſhall be true *Joſhua's*, true Saviours of your Countrey. I have read in *Marullus* of a Duke of *Bavaria* that each morning before he went to his dyet would call his Servants to bring him Water in a Baſon, in whoſe bottome *Cato Majors* picture was ſtampt in Gold, ſo that he might cauſe the impreſſion of his Image to be fixed in his minde, the imitation of whoſe vertues he propounded for his practice: and how happy ſhould I count my ſelfe if inſtead of *Cato* his Picture I might with his ſervant ſo preſent *Joſhua* his practiſe before you, that the impreſſion thereof might ever after abide in your thoughts? Diſdaine not the patterne, for he was the moſt happy and ſucceſſull governour that ever the Lord of the ſpirits of all fleſh ſet over the congregation of *Iſrael*; I know what I ſay, if *Moſes* were a greater Law-giver, yet was *Ioſhua* a more ſucceſsull Governour: if *Solomon* were more profound for Theory, yet was he more unhappy in practiſe of equity; never was the Church of *Iſrael* ſo happy as in *Ioſhua's* daies; conſider the manner of his education, his call and Election, his uncorrupt converſation, his valour and victories abroad, his care for piety, his hatred of Idolatry, his excellent care in houſehold government at home: and then it will be farre from being a diſparagement for the beſt to become his followers;

followers; but on the other side his example will be a strong inducement to all pious Magistrates to labour to equall him, especially seeing the Lord himselfe propounds his practice to be the patterne of all Magistrates that should succeed him: this the Lord gives a strong hint of, *Nehemiah* 9.27. where speaking of all the good Magistrates that did succeed *Ioshua*, he calls them all מוֹשִׁיעִים more *Ioshua's*, as it is translated, *more Saviours*: teaching us that a good Magistrate is nothing else but *Ioshua* metamorphosed, the minde of *Ioshua* in another person, or rather the vertues of *Ioshua* in another minde; and of all *Ioshua's* practises and vertues, there was none wherein he deserved more the name of a Saviour then in that which wee have observed from his practice in the text propounded from him for your imitation, to wit a thorough extirpation of all *Achans*, whether among *Canaanites* or *Israelites*.

The second motive in the text is that God himselfe fathers this act, and honours it with his owne name, & title, *The Lord shall trouble thee*, as if he had said you shall not only herein resemble *Ioshua*, but God himselfe also, and have his title ascribed to you. I have read that the greatest honour the heathen could invent to incite their Governours to be faithfull for the weale publicke, was to Canonize them for Gods, and therefore they called *Indigetes*, men for their desert worthy to be Gods: but in bending your whole power received from God, to extirpate these *Achans*, you shall be Gods in the Canon of Scripture, *Psalme* 86. *I have said you are Gods*. because *Proverbs* 8. 15. *by him Judges decree justice*, and for him is the judgment, as *Hezekiah* tells the Judges, Yee judge not for men, but for God: therefore he honours the executioners of it with his owne title. When Satan perswaded *Adam* and *Eve* to eate of the execrable things, it was by this motive, You shall be like Gods, and yet that made them like *Motive* 2.

Devills; but by excelling and extirpating these *Achans*, you shall be like Gods indeed, not *Physicè* in nature, and essence, but *Ethicè* and *Politicè*, in vertue and glory. First in vertue, there being no other vertue wherein man resembles the Lord more lively, or bears his Image so perfectly, as in executing of justice against execrable persons, especially, if while he executes Justice upon offenders, he provides withall for the salvation, and felicity of the righteous; but now in the extirpation of these *Achans*, you shall doe both: cut off the wicked and procure the felicity of Gods chosen, as well for their Soules as Bodies: Alas how many millions of Soules in this Kingdome lie under the Altars of these *Achans* crying with teares from their eyes, and bitternesse of grief in their hearts, How long Lord how long will it be, ere thou revenge the losse of our ordinances, Sabbaths, Sacraments? how long shall it be ere the bloud of Soules shed by idle, scandalous, negligent ministers, by their ignorance, errors, superstition, be regarded by our *Joshua*? how long will it be ere thou put soule pitying spirits into their pious hearts, to ease us of these execrable *Achans*? oh let your spirits observe the complaints and petitions brought unto you from all parts of the Kingdome, by the sheepe of Christ, that have no Shepheard, but onely *Achans*, troubling Wolves to destroy, and with the Lord *Iesus Christ* that great *Ioshuah* have compassion upon them, and send labourers to them, so shall you save their soules from death, and be both *Ioshuah* and God, and Saviour *Ethicè* in vertue and piety toward them, and being so, God will also make you like himselfe in honour and dignity. I confesse the man that shall neglect to oppose these *Achans* among you, much more he that shall goe about to patronize any execrable thing, shall be rather an *Abaddon*, an *Apollon* a destroyer then a *Ioshuah* or a Saviour; yea rather a Satan then God, or

if

if a God a God that rules in this World, in and for the Children of *Belial* the *Achans*: but for that Magistrate that shall now take up this resolution, to the uttermost of his power with *Ioshuah*, to extirpate all Idolaters, impious blasphemers, sacrilegious *Achans*, and Babylonish Garments, oh what honour would they purchase at the hands of this age, oh what a blessing would he bring upon his posterity, oh what peace and joy to his owne soule here, oh what a crowne of glory to raigne with Christ for ever in Heaven? Certainly I verily perswade my selfe, all the faithfull people of God in the whole land out of unfained good-will to them, would spend whole daies and nights in praises and prayers to God for them, and if it were fitting fall downe at their very feet and worship them, ring their Bells and clap their hands, make burne-fires at the very report of their names, joy to see them, prosecute them and their posterity and their houses with praise, and all manner of excellent acknowledgments, that as *Moses* to *Aaron*, so these unto their Countrey should be like God himselfe to them.

Thirdly, besides these two incitements from the Lord and *Ioshuah*, there is a third in the text from our selves. Even because they trouble us, thou hast troubled us saith *Ioshuah*. If therfore neither prescription of God, practice of Saints, peace of the Church, prosperity of the Common-wealth, supplication of inferiours, exaltation of your owne honours do not move you, yet let that which moved the unrighteous judge, that neither regarded God nor Men, to revenge the poore Widow of her adversary, move you, namely because shee troubled him; what troubles these *Achans* have brought upon our royall Soveraigne, State, Church, and Common-wealth already, you better know then I, from the generall complaints and petitions presented unto you every day; but what trouble *Motive 3.*

they will bring upon us, for time to come, if they be not now cut off neither you, nor I can conjecture; onely the Lord knowes, but all may see that an universall destruction, extirpation of us, our Religion, Peace, and Lawes, was intended by them traiterously and unjustly; and shall not *Iosh*ua justly extirpate *Achans*, for *Achans* unjust extirpation of *Israel*? Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, that justice may measure them the measure they would have measured to us, is not onely equall but necessary, *nam quid adempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?* what profits us, if of a hundred *Achans* and Babyloniſh Garments to take away one and leave ninety and nine behinde; whereas if ninety nine were gone and but one remaining he would trouble us all? especially now when God hath diſcovered them unto you, and given direction from his word by his lot, that except they be taken away, he will be no more with us, but againſt us. Had *Iosh*ua ſpared *Achan* after his diſcovery, and conviction, would not the Lord have told *Iosh*ua, Thy life ſhall goe for his; what thou ſhouldſt have done to him and didſt not, I will aſſuredly lay upon thy ſelfe for neglecting it: The application I leave to your owne conſciences, and make haſt to ſhew you the ſpeed that *Iosh*ua and *Israel* uſed in executing this ſentence, for *Israels* preſervation in *Achans* totall extirpation.

This expedition is to be obſerved from the laſt two particulars in the text, to wit, the two times of trouble, the firſt is the time of *Achans* troubling *Israel*, and that time was paſt: *Achan* had taken his owne time to ſteale the Wedge, and thereby to trouble *Israel*; and *Iosh*ua, he had taken Gods time, for inquiſition, and examination, and given *Achan* ſufficient time to anſwer for himſelfe before his ſentence, and then being convicted by evidence of witneſſes, and his owne confeſſion, comes Gods time to be conſidered which the Lord takes to trouble *Achan* in executing the ſentence againſt him

him for troubling *Israel*, and that was that very day the ſentence was pronounced, with all ſpeed and expedition, without one daies procraſtination, or unneceſſary delaies, *The Lord ſhall trouble thee this day*: whoſe practice and precept to *Joſhua* affords us and our *Joſhua's* this further leſſon and direction.

Fourthly, that thoſe ſentences of juſtice againſt the troublers of the State, which were concluded after due tryall and examination, are to be executed upon them without any unneceſſary delaies or procraſtinations. *Deut.* 4.

That I be not miſtaken in the propoſition let it be remembred, firſt that I underſtand it not of comminations or threatning of juſtice, but peremptory ſentences after due deliberation; for I know the Lords owne practice, in himſelfe and will to his ſervants, is repent of the evill, and to put great diſtance betweene the commination of judgment and execution of it, but never to vary or repent from the time of peremptory ſentence of a judgment and its execution: in commination and prediction, he intends reformation and remiſſion, or at leaſt tryall of the ſame, as in the 120 yeares forbearance with the old world; 40 daies prediction of judgment to *Nineve*; of all which it is true as the Apoſtle affirmes, 2. *Peter.* 3. The Lord is not ſlack as men are by ſluggiſh delaies and unneceſſary demurrer, but is patient that men might repent and be ſaved, but in peremptory ſentences he intends perſonall ſatisfaction to juſtice; therefore then after due tryall and examination executes it without any delay, as *Gen.* 19. After God came downe and ſaw the wickedneſſe of *Sodom*, he executed his wrath the ſame day; after *Adam* was throughly examined that day he began to die the death, both in being expelled from Paradiſe, and in inflicting vengeance upon him.

Secondly, I underſtand it of ſentences concluded to ſatisfie Juſtice in making an atonement to God for diſ- 2.

ſturbances and judgment brought upon a people by *Achans*: for where the offence is immediate againſt God, none injured by it but himſelfe, he takes liberty to delay, yea ſometimes to revoke it; but in ſuch offences where beſides the offence againſt himſelfe, in Heaven, the Church and Common-wealth alſo are troubled, by accurſed things, as in *Achans* caſe, then doth he not pardon or remit execution upon any repentance, or confeſſion whatſoever, but proceed to ſeeke ſatisfaction of Juſtice, in the execution of the delinquent, notwithſtanding their repentance: is ſeene in that one example, 2 *Sam.* 21. 3. Where nothing could make the atonement for the Land by *Sauls* offending in the execrable thing of perjury againſt the *Gibeonites*, but the reall and ſpeedy execution and extirpation of all his ſeed, notwithſtanding *Davids* teares and prayers: and that ſentences of this nature are to be executed with ſpeed and without procraſtination is that I aime now to prove to be the will of God, which I might do without any further ſearch then in deſiring you to looke backe to thoſe inſtances wherein you have heard the Lord to preſcribe the cure of a diſturbed State by a ſentence of totall extirpation of the offenders, and therin you ſhall read this truth annexed, and twiſted with the other, yea as plainly expreſt as the other, that the execution of them be not onely certaine, but ſpeedy without delay. For this of *Achan*, there is nothing more cleere in all this paſſage of the Scripture then the expedition of the execution of his ſentence; firſt in the Lords ſpeedy preſcribing it, as verſe 13. Sanctifie your ſelves againſt to morrow, delay not one day, no not one part of the day, deferre not till the afternoone, 1 verſe 14 early in the morning come according to all your Tribes: And as in Gods preſcription, ſo in the whole peoples practice & obedience, who ſhewed,

1. Firſt, ſpeed in inquiſition; they roſe early in the morning

morning and brought all the people by the Tribes before the Lord, verſe 16.

Secondly, ſpeed in conviction; *Joſhua* ſent meſſengers to ſearch his Tent, who it is ſaid haſted and runne to the ſame. 2.

Thirdly, ſpeed in execution after conviction and ſentence, as in the text, *The Lord ſhall trouble thee to day*: neither is this expedition peculiar to this inſtance of *Achan*, but alſo moſt expreſly declared to be the will of God in all the other; 3.

Extirpation of the execrable thing of the Golden Calfe and idolatry, *Exod.* 32. is expreſly commanded to be executed without any delay, verſe 30. *Conſecrate your ſelves to day unto the Lord*; in the ſpeedy execution of which ſentence how many things might carnall reaſon have objected againſt it as both raſh and cruell?

Firſt, muſt nothing ſerve but death, for the firſt dancing about the Idoll, may they not repent and live? no they muſt die. 1.

Secondly, but if they muſt die, what no hand but their Brothers, or Fathers hands, upon them; muſt not the naturall ties of friendſhip be regarded? no ſaith *Moſes*, ſlay every man his Brother and his Sonne. 2.

Thirdly, but if they muſt have their throats cut by their Kindreds hands, muſt it be in the heate of their ſinne before time given them to repent? yea ſaith *Moſes*, ſpeedily conſecrate your ſelves this day without any delay. 3.

But ſurely it was a cruell minded man that was greedy of bloud; nay *Moſes* the meekeſt man on the Earth, and one that would rather have died himſelfe then they; if that would have ſatisfied God, he had tendered his life before.

But good men have their faults, ſo *Moſes* and the *Levites* might be too haſty, and make more haſt then God would have given them thankes for; nay ſaith 4.

Moſes

Moſes, this pleaſed God ſo well that it was a conſecrating themſelves unto the Lord hereby, and God beſtowes a bleſſing on them therefore; Conſecrate your ſelves, &c. this ſacrifice of theſe mens bloods ſo pleaſed the Lord that they ſhall be the perſons that for ever after ſhall offer the ſacrifice of his people to him. Againe, that by a threefold witneſſe this truth might be eſtabliſhed in the extirpation and ſentence, and the execution againſt the execrable thing of *Baal Peor*, *Num.* 15. 4. it is expreſſly commanded that it be executed without the delay of one day, ſo ſaith the text, *Hang up all the heads and Princes of the people, Coram ipſo* ſole as *Junius* renders it, before this Sunne goe downe, procraſtinate not at all, which they alſo obeyed, for in the 1 *Cor.* 10. 5. it is ſaid, *There fell in one day, three and twenty thouſand*, and one thouſand Nobles beſides: and I conceive the reaſon why the ſtaying of the Plague was attributed eſpecially to *Phineas* execution, rather then the others, becauſe he was more zealous, which appeared in his more ſpeedy execution, for verſe 7. when *Phineas* ſaw he roſe up from the midſt of his more luke-warme & ſtupid Companions inſtantly following, and ſpeedily executed judgment, whereby the Plague was ſpeedily ſtayed. And upon the knowledge of this part of Gods will, it is that *David*, *Pſalme* 101. 1. reſolving ſo to execute mercie and juſtice that the faithfull in his daies be preferred, concludes to extirpate the wicked out of his Kingdome, *I will cut off*, ſaith he, *all the wicked from the City of God.* But when ſhall this be done? even without all procraſtination, *betimes*, ſaith he, *will I deſtroy*, or as the originall beares it, *in the morning early*, ſhewing it ſhould be his firſt mornings worke to execute the will of God in procuring the peace of the Kingdome by the ſpeedy execution of juſtice againſt the troublers of it.

Obiect. Againſt this poſition the neceſſity of expedition, ſome

some of the house of *Zibdy Achans* Brethren possibly may object the practice of that illustrious preserver of the peace of his Country, *Fabius Maximus qui cunctando restituit rem*, that is, by delay and using long prowses in going against the troublers and enemies of his Countrey did use to weary them, and weare them out by little and little rather then by speed and celeritie to vanquish them, and for it is called *cunctator, pater patriæ, scutum populi*, the preserver of his Country, the shield of the Common-wealth.

For answer to it I say first that *Fabius* delayes was not in executing justice against domesticke enemies, *Achans* at home, but in going against forraine and politicke enemies abroad, both which may well stand together in the same man, to wit, delay in going against forraigne enemies in a militarie way, and expedition in extirpating domesticke enemies in a judiciall way, as is seene in the same *Fabius* who was so speedy in executing death against the legions of his owne, that revolted to *Hannibal*; that he tooke the very course that *Iosua* here doth, cast lots to set out the persons to be executed, and then beheaded them with his owne sword, not staying for the comming of the executioner to doe it. *Answ.* 1.

Secondly I answer, that his delaies was rather in deferring the execution of the plots and violence of his enemies against the peace of his Countrey, then his owne or Senates Counsell against his enemies; it was *Hanniballs* plots and counsells that *Fabius* delaies, and not his owne resolutions: which policy in delaying and crossing the counsell and plots of *Achans* against the State, is the speediest and soonest way to put in execution the State counsell against these *Achans*: this I shall by a digression cleare unto you in the instance of *Hushai* and *Davids* practice, in defeating the counsell of *Achitophell* against him and the State. *Answ.* 2.

Never any *Achan* or Traytor better headed, and 1.

principled to contrive the ruine of the State and government then *Achitophel*, chiefe man in *Davids* councell, one for policie like the oracle of God, so that *David* prized more his judgment then all the rest of his board.

2. Secondly, never did *Achitophel* bend his braines and exercise the quintessence of his trayterous wit, and policy more, then in seeking the overthrow of the Kingdome & government under *David*, in his Treason with *Absolon*, whether you respect the contrivance of the plot, or managing of it: for the contrivance it was,

1. First, by closing with him in the Treason that he saw the King did most fondly affect, and had greatest power with the King, even *Absolon*.

2. Secondly, by his plausiblenesse and favour, to worke a misliking in the hearts of as many of the Subjects of the King as he could, concerning the indirect administration of justice and lawes, as it was ordered by those faithfull servants which *David* imployed in the worke, and withall to promise and possesse them with better proceedings, if things might come to *Absolons* hand.

3. Thirdly, by carrying on this Treason under pretence of piety and devotion: *Absolon* hath vowes to pay and these must not be paid at *Jerusalem*, in accommodating himselfe to that pure worship, which God had instituted, but he must abuse the Kings favour, and draw the people with him to *Hebron*, there to joyne with them in a way of sacrifice, that was over and above *Jerusalems* worship, whereby he drew most of the Subjects not well grounded, to follow him in conforming to his *Hebron* worship; and then to side with him against government established: thus deepe was *Achitophells* contrivance, nor was *Achitophells* practice inferiour to his contrivance, for

1. First, the Subjects being then alienated from the King he labours to cut off all hope and meanes of peace betweene

betweene the King and them, by causing *Absolon* to goe in to his Fathers Wives in the sight of all *Israel*, that so he might be made so odious to his Father, that there might be no hope of a reconciliation betweene them; and thereby also the hearts of the people made strong and resolute in siding with them, when they should see no hope of any peace to follow betweene them.

Secondly, he stirres them up to follow it by a mili- 2.
tary expedition against *David*, and all the faithfull Subjects in the Land, wherein he offers himselfe to be the leader and Generall, that as he had beene president of the Councell in peace, so that now he might feed his ambitious humour in making himselfe Generall of the forces in Warre, Let me choose ten thousand, saith hee.

Thirdly, he presses all hast and expedition, no fur- 3.
ther counsell, but his owne, he would not have the Battle delayed one day, Let mee follow the King this night, saith he.

Fourthly, he perswades from the opportunity of 4.
prevailing, Now *David* and his men being weary and weake handed.

Fifthly, from the facility, he would doe it with 5.
twelve thousand men.

Lastly, from the commodiousnesse, he would onely 6.
slay the King and those that were blockes in his way, and these being slaine, all the people would returne to him as one man: thus you see that no *Achan* or enemy of the world could bring more trouble upon a Common-wealth then *Achitophell* intended: now see that no policie to secure the Kingdome and bring speedy ruine upon *Achitophell*, is more prevalent, then delaying his counsell in his military way, which will appeare,

First, from Davids prayer and counsell, and 1.

2. Secondly, from *Huſhais* practice.

1. First, Davids prayer, Lord turne his counſell to folly.

2. Secondly, perſwading *Huſhai* to defeat his plot with *Abſolon*: and then *Huſhai*, firſt in taking off *Achitophells* counſell, and then in propounding his owne contrary to it: he takes of *Achitophells* counſell by declaring that though *Achitophell* deſerved the name of a wiſe man, yet at this time he miſſed: for whereas he had ſaid that *David* and his men were weary handed, he tels them now that they were like Beares robbed of their Whelpes: and for taking of *David* alone there was no probability, for *David* being a skilfull Warrier, would not lodge with his people all night; and for the time of going the night would be worſt of all, for *David* would be hid in a Cave, and then how ſhould they finde him in the darke? and againe being in the night, in a wood, the aſſailants would have the diſadvantage and the defendants the gaine, at leaſt to kill ſome which in the night being heard, would diſcourage the reſt and make them all runne away. Having taken of *Achitophells* counſell he propounds his owne.

1. Firſt, for time he would have them delay till all *Iſrael* be gathered; for company he would have all *Iſrael* come together, from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*; for the Generall not *Achitophell*, but the King himſelfe in his perſon; all which counſell was for no other end but to delay and procraſtinate the counſell of *Achitophell*, thereby to bring ſpeedy ruine upon them, both which alſo came to paſſe; for *Achitophell* ſeeing his counſell was not taken, conſiders if the King was overcome, he was but a dead man; if he were not overcome, yet the honour of the victory would fall upon *Huſhai*, whoſe counſell was followed when his was rejected, and therfore hanged himſelfe that night: and the next is *Abſolon* hanged in the Tree by his neck. By which inſtance, you ſee that expedition of our owne counſells and procraſtinating

craftinating the plots of adversaries in military waies well agree together, to bring speedy deliverance and cure to a troubled Church and State.

The consideration of which truth, with application of the same to the proceeding of our honourable assemblies against the *Achans* among us, affords us all just occasion and matter of a twofold duty. First of Praise. Secondly of Prayer. *Applic.*

First of Praise, when wee reflect upon that which is already done. 1.

Secondly of Prayer, when wee looke forward upon that which is yet to doe. 2.

For the former, if expedition in execution of justice be the will of God, for our preservation, then let all the Kingdome and severall Shires of the Land sing praise to our God, and give due honour to his instruments, by whose indefatigable labours, and incessant diligence in examining and convincing our *Achans*, so great a stay of Idolatry, injustice, molestation, in the Church and Common-wealth, is already attained; so deepe a foundation of purity in the Church, of peace and tranquillity in the whole Kingdome, in so short a time, in so few moneths is so deeply layed. Compare the complexion of our Kingdomes, Judicatures, Oratories, &c. at this present, with the countenance they have carried for many by-gone yeares, and you will say more have beene done for our peace, and against *Achans*, within five moneths last past, then in fifty yeares before, if all see it not, it is because they are blind or consider not that it is in great bodies and publique businesses of State, as in the motions of the Heavens, which are most speedy in their course, yet not sensibly perceived, but by their effects, when wee discerne those Starres that were aloft over night, are under foot in the morning, though wee saw not their motion, yet wee conclude the speed of their course: even so when wee see bla-

zing Comets and boyſtering clouds ſcattered, our darke Starre elevated; when wee ſee *Huſhais* counſell entertained, and *Achitophells* rejected; when wee ſee a Warre as furiouſly perſecuted, and bent to as great hazard to our Kingdome, as *Abſolons* was againſt *Iſrael*, by our *Joſhuahs*, and *Huſhais* delayed, now turned to a glorious peace, a Triennall Parliament concluded, *Achitophell* hanged, wee cannot chooſe but ſay as *David* to *Abigail*, Bleſſed be the Lord that ſent you, and bleſſed be you & your counſell, that hath thus ſoone made our *Bochim* the place of our weeping, become our *Berachs*, and turned our teares into Songs; yee have made this yeare the yeare of *Jubiles* unto us, wherein ſo many exiled and baniſhed from Gods houſe, from their owne houſes, and places, and Kingdomes, as at the death of the high Prieſt have returned to their owne inheritance againe, and with *Ezra*, chap. 7. 27. Bleſſed be the Lord which hath put ſuch a thing as this into the Kings heart; give unto the Lord you mightie, give unto Lord glory due unto his name, for he hath looſed the collars of Princes, and made the Judges vaines bleſſe yee the Lord yee houſe of *Aaron*, for he is now your helpe and ſhield: yea let all the Saints be joyfull with glory to our God, and ſing aloud upon their beds, for God hath put into their hearts both power, and readineſſe, to execute vengeance on *Achans* and correction among the people, to binde their great ones in chaines, and their Princes in fetters of Iron, to execute ſpeedily the judgment that is written: this honour have all his Saints, Praiſe yee the Lord.

2. Secondly, as it affords matter of praiſe to God and you for the expedition already paſt, ſo alſo further occaſion of Prayer, in reſpect of what is behinde; if expedition in execution of *Achans*, is the will of God, then let us pray God to convey his will into your wills ſtill, and make you more willing to make ſpeed

to

to ſave us, and haſt to helpe us; ſuffer us to pray God to remove all blockes, and impediments out of your waies, and from your owne hearts, and ſpirits, that what *Achan* ſoever ſhall by due examination be convinced to be a troubler and diſturber of the lawes of God and the Kings, as in *Ezra* 7. 26. *Judgment may be executed upon him, and that ſpeedily whether it be unto death, or baniſhment, or confiſcation of goods or impriſonment*; ſuffer me in the name of God and his poore Church to pray you that if God ſtir up the hearts of ſome to be forward, there may none be found that may retard or delay the ſame *ſerendo moras* from ſelfe-love, favour, feare, or carnall reaſon; but that ſtill Juſtice againſt theſe *Achans* may runne downe in the ſtraighteſt way and the ſhorteſt courſe, and not in the winding bankes of unneceſſary delayes. Conſecrate your ſelves to day unto the Lord, and if all *Achans* could be hanged up, *Coram iſto ſolo*, let none remaine untill to morrow however, in exerciſing mercy and juſtice betimes in cutting off all the wicked, from the City of God: thinke not that our prayer of expedition ariſeth from diſtruſt or ſuſpition of your wiſdome and diligence; for although he that beleeveth in God himſelfe, doth not make haſt, by way of diffidence, yet doth he pray, God make haſt to helpe us, oh Lord make ſpeed to ſave us, out of confidence; and if the God of Heaven give us leave to incite him with our arguments, and quicken him by our prayers, I hope I ſhall without offence pray this honourable Houſe that they would quicken themſelves, by the conſideration of theſe incitements following, tending to ſpeedy execution.

Firſt, from the Lord, whoſe will it is, that you make ſpeed; he as ſoone as ever any *Achan* hath ſinned, in offending in the execrable thing, ſets out his judgments and wrath after him, and the Kingdome alſo where he dwells: if *Joſhua's* execution overtake *Achan* before *Motive* 1.

Gods,

Gods, then they ſpare, and ſave themſelves as in the cauſe of the *Gibeonites* is evident; when *Davids* judgment overtakes him, the Lord forbeares; but if not, he goeth on ſtill: Oh what danger is there then in one daies delay, when if our ſpeed in execution bee not ſooner then Gods, we come too late? Thinke Right Honourable, in your purſuing of theſe *Achans*, that the Lord is purſuing you both, with his threatned wrath, if you execute not vengeance on them betimes; and if you delay one day, thinke God that comes on Eagles Wings, and is a ſwift witneſſe againſt *Achans*, will come in the day you begin to be ſlacke, and ſo ſurprize you before them: oh therefore make no delay, when haſt onely ſaves. I read in the 1 *Samuel* 25. when *Abigail* heard that *David* was offended, and comming to deſtroy her Familie, for *Nabals* fault, that ſhe haſted to take two hundred Cakes to prevent *David*, verſe 18. and commanded her ſervants, verſe 19. to make more haſt then her ſelfe could, *But goe yee before mee and I will follow after: and when ſhee ſaw David*, verſe 21. *ſhe haſted and lighted off her Aſſe, and ranne to meete him, and fell at his feete*; but what need all this haſt? even the haſt that *David* made to revenge himſelfe on *Nabal* and all his Familie, he would not delay nor procraſtinate till the dawning of the day; *God doe ſo to mee and more alſo if I leave ought of Nabal alive till the dawning of the day*, ſaith *David*. Therfore not her Cakes nor confeſſion, but haſt ſaved her and her Familie, as *David* tells her in *terminis*, verſe 30. *As the Lord of hoſts liveth, except thou hadſt haſted and met mee, I had not left any thing alive by the breaking of the day.* Change but the name, the cauſe is ours, our *Achans Nahals* have provoked *Davids* God againſt us, more then *David* againſt *Nabal*; his poore ſervants come tell you, evill will come upon us therefore; you are our *Abigails*, haſt, for as the Lord liveth except you haſt wee may feare little will be left

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In a few daies, and the rather because God is in view, and therefore stay not while his wrath overtake us; stay not while our Kingdome be destroyed.

Secondly, if Gods haste move not, yet let *Achans* haste effect it, for the more daies *Achans* are permitted to stay, after discovery, the more doe they infect us; is the iniquity of *Peor* too little for us saith the people, but wee must have more? so say I, is it not sufficient that their sins have troubled us, but their continuance must infect us, and destroy us, *Deut.* 21. there is a law made, that the dead body of an executed malefactor should not be suffered to hang on the tree till to morrow *Junius* out of *Epiphanius* gives the reason, because the sight of them above the earth was execrable to the Lord: till they were wholly abolished they would infect; now, if the bodies of our *Achans* infect spirituall as well as corporall, why should they stay above the ground till to morrow; which much like as is said of the Basilisk, *spectando, & dum spectantur*, both by our seeing them, and their seeing of us, they slay us. *Motive 2.*

First so long as they are seene, they slay us, because they keepe the fountaine of life from us. God will not come one moment to us till they be gone; censures and judgment, without execution, no more brings comfort to the body of a State, then promises of payment without satisfaction pates debts: while the debt is not paid the suite goes on, and while the life of the malefactor is in him, by unjust and unnecessary procrastinations; Gods justice for all our censures and purposes are still in force against us. 1.

Secondly, and much more *spectando* while they live do they actually hurt, when they are questioned & condemned, the Law of Man against these *Achans* doth as the reviving of the Law of God in the consciences of wicked men, make them desperately evill, more then before, *ne pereamus, ruat mundus*, saith *Achan*, oh that seeing 2.

I must die or *Israel*, that I might destroy *Israel* before I die. *Balam* when he cannot curse from his Altars, undoeth *Israel* by his secret counsells to the King *Balacke* against *Israel*; had not *Absolon* beene spared, he had never driven his Father out of his Kingdome, this *David* and all the faithfull of *Israel* have got, by hearing the Woman of *Tekoah* for his reprievall; I may say of all *Achans* as our Saviour of *Judas*, it had beene good for them and the Kingdome where they live, they had never beene borne, but that they had perished before they had done either good or evill; but having done so much evill and mischiefe to the lives and welfare of whole Kingdomes, why should life be further granted to them whose very life brings death to all about them?

Motive 3. Thirdly, in procrastinating their execution you hinder the joy, the comfort, the Jubilee of the Church, for the returne of its praise; as long as these sonnes of *Belial* live, the Kingdomes peace and comfort cannot be established, onely when these are cast downe, will the Church lift up its head, and say exaltation, and shouting. Oh what joy was in *Israel* when *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* saw the *Egyptians* dead upon the shore, then they sung and danced, when *Debora* and *Barack* saw *Sisera* beheaded, then all but *Meros* that did not helpe the Lord, rejoyced: when *Mordecai* and *Hester* saw *Haman* hanged, then they kept the feast and dales of *Purim*; and when *England* shall see these *Achans* executed, then shall they rejoyce in the Lord, and in the returne of his presence into his Temple, ordinances, and judicatures; *bi gaudia nostra morantur*: while these Froggs and Jesuits of *Rome* be extirpated, wee shall not sing the song of *Moses* and the Lambe. Oh therefore hast their ruine, and your owne triumph; though *Rome* were not built in one day, yet may it be, nay it shall be destroyed in a day, *Revel.* 18. 8. *her plagues shall come in one day*, nay in one houre, verse 10. *in one houre is thy judgment*

judgment finished, our Church hath long time beene in travaile to be delivered of these Vipers, and long travails are perilous, especially if so; and that the spirit and strength of pregnant begin to waste: the Dragon and false Prophet, labours with all their might to make the birth abortive, or destroy the issue in the Wombe, oh do you afford such helpe that shall be quick and lively, and be delivered before such Midwives come at her, then shall she forget all her sorrow, and immediately shall follow the Church *Hallalujah*, even the day that others have desired to see and could not, but by your expedition, in *Achans* destruction, your eyes shall immediatly behold truth, and peace in your daies, and joy in all the *Israel* of God.

Fourthly, nor shall you by this expedition bring greater joy, to the Church then blessing to your selves. Consecrate your selves to day, saith *Moses*, to the sons of *Levi*, that God may bestow a blessing upon you; teaching us, the blessing that God will reward this service withall, should quicken their indeavours therein. Never any service that you shall doe unto God, or your Kingdome, shall be better rewarded, then this shall. *Levi* did all the services of the Temple, yet for his speedy extirpation of the abominable things had he the blessing; by this *Levi* got off the temporall guilt of the *Shechemites* blood; by this their scattering in *Israel* was turned to a blessing, the temporall blessings of God assured, the blessing of immunitie from the sinnes of the Land obtained, the acceptation of the sacrifice of the people of *Israel* from their hands promised, as their hereditary blessing: so shall you by this worke of expedition of *Achans* judgment free your selves from the bones of all *Achans* of the times, as *Ioshua* here, turne away the wrath of God from your selves, and others, as *Phineas* elsewhere; you shall be sure that God that rewarded *Iehues* extirpation of *Iezabels* idolatry, with *Motive 4.*

reward of a Kingdome, in the fourth Generation, though done in hypocrisie, will not be forgetfull of this your labour, to recompence it foure-fold more then to *Iehu*, if you doe it speedily and in sincerity: and that God of blessing, that blessed *Phineas* and all his posterity, saying, I impute his zeale, his speedy cutting off two execrable persons, for righteousnesse, and give him therefore the covenant of peace, and he shall have it, and his Sonnes after him from Generation to Generation, will certainly impute your speedy extirpation of many *Achans*, for righteousnesse, unto you and your Sons and heires, thereby intouled in a Covenant of peace, and they shall have it from Generation to Generation when you are dead and gone.

Motive 5. Fifthly, to conclude all, and put an end to the exhortation, remember this one thing, that execution of justice upon *Achan* is the end and perfection of all other your paines, and labour spent, in the inquisition, examination, conviction, and sentencing of *Achan*. All these are wholly directed to this, as to their end and scope, without which it is in vaine to rise up early and sit up late, and spend whole Weeks, and Moneths from your houses and families, to discover and bring them to light; to what end is this waste, if being found out, sentence is not executed, execution being the end & perfection of all censures & uncorrupt judgments? how can it appeare that the grounds, intentions, and rules of your sentences were pure, and uncorrupt, except after they be pronounced they haste more then ever to their execution? for this is the difference betweene naturall, and violent motions, violent, the further they goe the fainter they grow; but naturall, make so much the more haste, by how much they draw neerer to their end and center; therefore that it may appeare to all the world, that this Assemblies aime was the peace of the Kingdome, and remove all of unjustice

juſtice and unrighteouſneſſe from it, and was carried thereto by the rules of wiſdome and naturall affection to truth and holineſſe, being now ſo neere the end, make haſte to the center, to wit, execution of *Achans*, without unneceſſary delaies, and needleſſe procraſtrations.

Thus have you ſeene and heard the end and meanes of the ruine of the Church, in *Achans* accuſation, and the notes and meanes of the recovery of a Church in *Ioſhua's* ſentence, and execution.

What now remaines; but as Muſitians report, that a Lute or other well tuned inſtrument, hanging by, on a Wall, will reſound the notes and choice ſtraines, and touches, which another played on before it, by a skilfull hand may ſeeme to dictate unto it, and that wherſoever it failes, in anſwering its patterne, yet it is moſt obſervant of the cloſes in the end, and keeping time with them; ſo *Ioſhua* is the inſtrument by whom the Lord hath preſented theſe notes and leſſons of heavenly melody unto your eares, concerning Church purging, and ſtate reforming policy, in the valley of *Achor*; as therefore to the honour of God and the joy of his Church, you have hitherto obſerved all the former notes of this heavenly muſicke, by your harmony, and ſweet conſent, examining and ſentencing theſe *Achans*: So God grant you may moſt carefully keepe time alſo with them, in the cloſe; not ending in a Large, or a Long procraſtination of executing Juſtice, but in a Briefe, quicke, and ſpeedy extirpation of them with *Ioſhua*, to trouble them all, and that this day.

FINIS.

AN 12

APOLOGY

FOR

BISHOPS

OR,

A PLEA FOR LEARNING,

AGAINST

THOSE LYING, RAYLING, AND SCANDALOUS LIBELS, SO frequent, in despight of Learning and Learned Men.

DEDICATED TO ALL THE LOVER of Learning and Vertue for the Reformation of the abuses and corruptions of these *Times*.

Printed in the yeare, 1641.

AN APOLOGY

FOR

BISHOPS

OR,

A PLEA FOR PREACHING

AGAINST

THOSE LYING, RAILING,

AND SCANDALOUS LIBELS

Repent, and forsake your sinning ways.

Lamentations.

DEDICATED TO ALL THE LOVERS

Of Learning and Virtue, for their Reformation of

Abhorred corruptions of these

Times.

Introduction.

To vindicate the truth, now basely shent;
(But yet not shamd) one muse is forward bent:
Then give such power and guidance to my Quill,
(Thou truths defender) that thy glory still,
May be the end and scope of all my paines,
which more delights my soule then worldly gaines.

INjurious times I can these latter dayes,
That should devoutly more and more upraise
Th'almighties honor, whose children should grow
As th'ponderous world grows more and more in age?
Can it and we so much degenerate?
(Oh griefe) we doe; the world is in no fault,
But horridly she shakes, and stands agast,
To see fond Mortals desperately and fast.
Gigantikely 'gainst goodnesse wage a warre,
And set up Ignorance in Learnings chaire.
Bishops whose long and undisputed right,
For hundred yeers struck error in a fright,
In whose successions still there has been found
Continuall props to bear up Englands Crown.

Search Monumentall Records and you'l see
In ancient times muzled with Popery,
Still some of them like *Atlas*, gainst storme fate
In boysterous times upheld our tottering State,
And truly if I might compare, and show
The blessings which from their industry grow
God making them his cheifest instruments
To bring to passe which now's our cheifest contents
Witnesse graue *Morton* whose iudicious head
Found meanes to ioyne the white rose with the red
And that good *Durham* Bishop whose wit did find,
The meanes by which England and Scotland's ioynd.
But some will say, what trayterous Subjects were;
These Bishops, *Becket*, *Bonner*, *Gardiner*,
With many more, I grant it verily
Many were bad (but yet) I thus reply,
No order since the world did first begin,
Were't ne're so strict, but some were full of sin;
I can recite, such as no man can blame,
Indu'd with Learning and Religious Flame:
Especially since time of Reformation,
And Pope in *England* had so sore damnation,
Who like Gods faithfull servants full of grace,
Made fire their Graves to see their Makers face,
As *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, reverend *Latimer*,
Good Bishop *Hooker*, zealous Bishop *Fatnar*,
To lead the Armies of the living God,
(Like good *Iehoiada's*) they Antichrist withstood:
And after that the *Marian* troubles ended,
Elizabeth, whom God so long defended,
(Seated in the English Throne) she quickly cast
Bloud-sucking Tyrants into prison fast,

And

And in their places plac'd such shining Starres,
Who govern'd decently the Church, held warres
With Antichrist, and shocke his triple Crowne
To Hell, from whence their Hellish doctrin's flowne,
Since whom, what good men could I name, but I
Hate guiltinesse of partiality, on
And know full well my praise can little skill,
Since their owne workes have merited so well.
The Function's so devout, of such esteeme
It ought to be, though some shall scape deeme,
Whose boyling hearts blowne up with Satans spirit,
Strike at the Churches Base, would disinherit
The Lords owne Tribe, and let all Ignorance,
Schisme and Discord, bring in dire mischance,
Come tumbling in; but that high Senates skill
And holy Zeale, that which is stirring, will
Establish and enact, let slanderous pennes,
Scribble their hearts dumbnesse, sans right or sence,
Let the foole Gorgombe, mayor of Westchester,
And that same doughty Asse of Lambeth Faire,
Goe on in this mad mood like dog-bolt curres,
Who think to outdo the wolf with false furres,
The Truthes in question, and the Lawes all about,
To scandall rude, erroneous and stout
Grave fathers, each good Presbyter,
What though Arch-bishop Laud is prisoner,
Must that same scorcles, foule mouth'd graceles rogue
Deride and scoff, would I, I'm sure, could I,
Were Laud in honours, for to get a place,
Of trencher-scraper, one doore unto his grace,
Laud has offended, and it is my will,
That all offenders taste of Lauds owne dish,

But though has done amisse, him to defame
So impudently ti's a filthy shame.
And to revile him, so tis much unfit,
For such a poetaster (devils chit)
To all these rogues associates lle say thus,
They ride the devill, not noble *Pegasus*, [lines
And wish them whipt and stript, till their strong
Make them all halters for their doughty rimes.
Honour gives life to learning, and the Arts,
Honour makes man inhobled in all parts.
Honour excites to vertue every one,
Honour perswades to get perfection.
The souldiers fights for honour, makes the ground
His fastned pillow, and his bed of Down,
Will boldly stand 'gainst death, look as grim
As *Mars* himself, over a river swim.
Outface a Canons wide-hell-thundring mouth
Out-dare, out-state all obiects ner so ruth.
All this and more for honour he'l passe by,
For honour fight to live, for honour dye.
A willing prentise, be it nere so base,
Will undergo all work, bear all disgrace,
Run, flie, and trot, endure any thing,
In hope of honour, which Liberty may bring.
And shall not we honour that precious Iem,
Learning which beats from all the Diadem,
Which makes a man in spight of spightfull death,
Live still renownd, immortall after breath,
By whose fair help all dark obscurities
Are tane away from sacred mysteries.
Scripture aright expounded, and whereby
The good profession sacred Theology

Is

Is ſtill more graduated, for unleſſe
Learning be got, all's but emptineſſe.
And certes then ſith Learnings ſo profound,
So deare, ſo ſweet, there muſt be fewel found
For to maintain it, or twill ſvffocate
Eſtate and honour, tis the needfull bait
That makes ingenuous wits with courage climbe
Up Learnings ſteepy mountain ſo ſublime.
A ſhame it is in any Chriſtian ſtate
To ſee a learned Clergy paupertate;
To ſee thoſe Academyes, whoſe renowne
So long have floriſhed to tumble downe.
But Heaven be gracious to that gracious Court
Aſsembled in thy name, be thou a fort
And a defence to them. Let them go on
For Church and Kingdomes reformation.
Reform abuſes, beat down ſlanderers,
Unto the truth that are ſuch batterers.
And then, ſo long as we have any breath,
VVele praiſe thy name, and ſeale it with our death.

FINIS.

Is full more gradnated, for unlesse
Learning be got, all's but emptinesse.
And scarce shall with Learnings to profound,
So dare, so fwest, there must be fitted found
For to maintain it, or will vindicate
Time and honour, tis the needfull'st fait
That marks ingenuous wits with courage climbe
Up Learnings steepy mountain to sublime.
A shame it is in any Christian sure
To see a learned Clergy prostrate;
To see thole Academyes, whole renowne
So long have stonished to stumble downe.
But Heaven be gracious to that gracious Court
Assembled in thy name, be thou a fort
And a defence to them. Let them go on
For Church and Kingdomes reformation,
Adorn abuses, beat down Usurpers,
Unto the truth that are such barriers.
And then, so long as we have any breath,
We'de praise thy name, and sing it with our death.

FINIS.

A SUMMARY DISCOURSE concerning the work of *PEACE ECCLESIASTICALL*, How it may concurre with the aim of a civill confederation amongst PROTESTANTS:

Presented to the consideration of my Lord Ambassadour

S^r. THOMAS ROVV, *&c.*

at *HAMBURG*,

in the yeare MDCXXXIX.

By M^r. JOHN DURY,

A faithfull and indefatigable Solicitour of the Gospel of Peace amongst Protestants:

Now put to the Presse for the information of such as are able to countenance, and willing to help forward the Negotiation to some issue.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by *Roger Daniel*, Printer to the Universitie, *Ann. Dom.* 1641.

JOHN 3. 20, 21.

Every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, leſt his deeds ſhould be reproved.

But he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifeſt that they are wrought in God.



To the Right Honourable S. THOMAS ROW,

Knight, Chancellour of the moſt Honourable Order of the Garter, and Ambaſſadour extraordinary for his Majeſtie, unto the King of Denmark, *and Princes of* Germanie, &c.

Right Honourable;

IT is eaſie to diſcourſe of a good buſineſſe, but betwixt doing and ſaying there is a great deal of difference. And although I labour to be rather effectuall then talkative, nevertheleſſe ſometimes diſcourſes are requiſite to ſatisfie ſuch as muſt heare and judge of the work. What ſatisfaction this may give, I know not; but I can conjecture that few will be pleaſed with it, except thoſe which really love the work for it ſelf. And although I did not intend to be half ſo large when I firſt ſet pen to paper, as now I find my ſelf to have been, yet I am not ſatisfied in mine own work, becauſe I ſee that whiles I ſtudy to avoid prolixity I do not deſcend unto ſuch particulars as Judicious States-men will perhaps look after in theſe endeavours concerning the outward wayes of proceeding, and as learned Divines will reflect upon concerning the inward manner of reconciling mens judgements, & working peaceable diſpoſitions upon their

affections. But my Apologie is, that particulars depend upon circumſtances, and that the varietie of circumſtances is almoſt infinite: Therefore not ſo much to be diſcourſed of, as to be obſerved in the action, and made uſe of towards the effect. Neither is it fit to lay open in a diſcourſe communicable to every one the particularities which pertain to the undertaking, and muſt go along with the execution. It ſufficeth in this caſe to make the neceſſitie and poſsibility of things intended to appear, which I hope is done, if not ſo fully as could have been, yet in ſome ſatisfactory meaſure towards ſuch as can conceive and make uſe of generall rules applyable to caſes, which every one acquainted with the nature of publick affairs eaſily can imagine and repreſent unto himſelf. Now the chief end for which I have put my ſelf upon this diſcourſe is, that I ſhould at this occaſion ſumme up mine own thoughts to diſcover the ſame unto your Lordſhip, and to let others ſee my way, who perhaps will concurre to further it in time and place convenient. For ſeeing the work is in it ſelf moſt neceſſary, and for the Proteſtant cauſe moſt profitable, and neither impoſsible nor ſo difficult as moſt men that have not tried the ford, as I have done, imagine it to be; therefore I would not have any to deſpair of it, nor give me occaſion to complain of this age, that after ſo many years unblamable ſolicitation, I have found ſmall reality of aſsiſtance in a publick work of ſo great neceſsity. The jealouſies and fears of the times, I know, occaſionate this: But as for me, I have once for all by oath unto Almighty God renounced all by-reſpects in this buſineſſe; and no man ſhall ever be ſo jealous over me for outward circumſtances, as I ſhall be inwardly over my ſelf, leſt the ſimplicity of my mind in theſe purpoſes be tainted with worldly hopes or fears; againſt which as the traytours of

good

good courſel, I have guarded my ſpirit in working it into a temper, wherein I may ſeriouſly take pleaſure with the Apoſtle in all adverſities, and rejoyce in troſſes and in ſtraights, that when I ſhall be (as I foreſee I may be) deſerted, neglected, deſpiſed and laughed at, for embracing (as it were alone) ſo vaſt a buſineſſe, I may then endure it patiently, and without murmuring at my eaſe rely upon Gods providence in it, in reſpect I know that he is able to ſhew his ſtrength in my weakneſſe. And if he will not comfort me with the wiſhed for ſucceſſe, yet I ſhall not faint in well-doing, becauſe theſe generall grounds and rules to walk by are able to ſupport me (if my heart be upright to the work) in all difficulties. Neither is it requiſite for me to ſet forth and commend this matter, nor will I uſe perſwaſive arguments to induce men to give aſſiſtance in it: for I deſire the help of none, but of ſuch as love the work for it ſelf, and who are able either of themſelves, or at leaſt from theſe generall diſcoveries, to ſatisfie their thoughts in the poſſibility of more particular undertakings. Few men are ſo judicious to conſider the conſequence, and ſo cordiall to aſſiſt the proſecuting of theſe endeavours, as your Lordſhip hath alwayes been. I ſpeak this in true ſimplicity of heart, as knowing, from the reall teſtimonies of your Patronage unto the work, the thing which I ſay. Therefore as your Honour was the firſt encourager and ſupporter of me at the beginning of this Negotiation in Pruſſia, ſo now at this almoſt full period thereof, after this triall of my conſtancy, ſincerity, and unblamableneſſe therein, I am perſwaded your favours will not be failing before it appear what preparatives may be wrought further in theſe Quarters, and in the Church of Denmark, where hitherto nothing hath been attempted. Who knoweth what opportunities time will produce:

2. Cor. 12. 10.

produce hereafter? Periander, one of the renowned ſeven Sages of Greece, biddeth us, Expect the occaſion: & the reaſon of this precept may be taken from Dion, who ſaith, Quòd plura negotia opportunitate occaſionum quàm viribus rectè ſunt confecta. *Thus then if I may but go on without noiſe in mine own private ſlow pace, I ſhall reſt contented: for I know that this ſeed muſt not onely be ſown in the hearts of men at its own times, but alſo lie there a ſeaſon and rot before it will ſpring up and fructifie. The Prophet Iſaiah in a caſe of this nature ſaith,* He that believeth ſhall not make haſte: *Now I do believe; therefore I am reſolved not to make haſte. Onely two things I could wiſh for; Firſt, that all outward helps be not withdrawn from my ſubſiſtence; Secondly, that the favourable acceſſe which I have had unto ſome eminent Divines of Great Brittain, which are not unwilling to take ſome ſpirituall tasks in hand concerning this ſubject may be ſtil confirmed. If theſe wiſhes cannot be obtained, I confeſſe the caſe will be ſo much the more difficult, but yet no worſe then either is preconceived or hath been experimented. For in both theſe I have been at as low an ebbe when I firſt did begin this Negotiation as I am likely ever to be. And now ſeeing I have ſerved out my apprenticeſhip, I hope I ſhall not prove leſſe induſtrious & happy at the latter end in continuing my trade, then at firſt I was in learning how to begin the ſame. It is ſome advantage in framing a reſolution to have experience of extremities wherein Gods providence hath been ſeen. I can deſire no more to be at reſt in reſpect of future contingents, and in reſpect of preſent matters, I thank God for contentedneſſe. I will make no further preliminary diſcourſes; for I fear me theſe have been too long. Therefore I intend now to come to my proper ſubject, which at this time is,*

Καιρὸν πρόσεχε. Libr. 43.

Eſay. 28. 16.

A generall Diſcourſe touching a concurrence of the work of Peace Eccleſiaſticall with the aim of a civill Confederation *amongſt Proteſtants.*

IN this matter two things are to be conſidered: Firſt, What the concurrence of endeavours towards the work of Eccleſiaſticall reconcilement may contribute unto the aim of a civill Confederation. Secondly, How this concurrence may be ſet awork moſt effectually and profitably towards the ſcope which ought to be intended in ſuch a negotiation. *The heads of this deliberation*

Concerning the firſt.

THe ſpirituall work of Eccleſiaſticall reconciliation is a negotiation whereby the ſpirits of ſpirituall perſons are wrought upon by ſpirituall means, tending to induce them to peaceable diſpoſitions toward thoſe with whom they are at variance for matters of Religion. *Are deſcribed,*

The aim of a civill Confederation, I ſuppoſe to be a purpoſe of joyning the Proteſtant States together in counſels and actions of peace and war, tending to their mutuall preſervation. That theſe two buſineſſes may concurre as well as Religion and civill prudence are able to ſtand together, is out of all *And their concurrence ſuppoſed.*

doubt: but what the firſt may contribute unto the laſt, and how the concurrence muſt be framed, are two things which are now to be thought upon. And to this it is needleſſe to reckon up all the benefits which ſpirituall concord bringeth unto the Church of God, and all that happineſſe which redoundeth from the bleſſed and peaceable eſtate of the Church to the Common-wealth, of which a volume might be written: But it will ſuffice at this time to intimate, that whatſoever the ſoul of a man is able to contribute unto his body, the ſame in a proportionable way may be contributed by the work of ſpirituall reconciliation of ſouls unto the civill Confederation of the bodies of Proteſtant States. And to ſhew this briefly, we will make the compariſon onely in two things, which all Naturaliſts confeſſe to be effects of the ſouls of men towards their bodies. Namely, Firſt, that the ſoul frameth the body and maketh it up for it ſelf, ſo that it receiveth no true naturall life and being without the ſoul. Secondly, That when the body is framed, then the ſame ſoul ſtill ſupporteth the being thereof, ſo that without the continuance of the ſoul therewith it is neither permanent in life nor in ſubſtance. Both theſe effects muſt flow from the ſouls of Clergie men, by the work of ſpirituall reconcilement unto the aim of a civill confederation, as really and truly in the body of the Proteſtant State, as they do in this outward world from living ſouls unto their naturall bodies. For neither can a civill confederation be truly framed amongſt Proteſtants, nor when it is framed can it be faithfully maintained, except the foundation thereof

thereof be layd in the minds of the Clergy. The ground of this poſition is clear from reaſon backed with experience, which hath taught us for the ſpace of theſe hundred years by-paſt, that except the ſchiſme Eccleſiaſticall and cauſes thereof be taken out of the way, it will not be poſſible either to make a true and conſtant league, or to confirm it when it is made. For it is evident that the leagues of Proteſtants, which by reaſon of neceſſitie and imminent dangers were hitherto made up, have been continually broken to pieces by reaſon of their differences in Religion, which bred jealouſies, from whence their counſels were diſtracted, and their ſpirits alienated one from another. The cauſes of theſe jealouſies come partly from the very nature and propertie of all rents and controverſies about ſpirituall matters, which command ſo powerfully over the ſoul, that all other affections muſt ſtoop thereunto; partly from the hot and unreaſonable diſpoſition of moſt Lutheran Divines, who by clamours and partiall practices ceaſe not either to prevent all manner of conjunction, in maintaining that it is not lawfull to confederate with Hereticks, or elſe to break it off, and weaken the effect of it when it is brought to paſſe, by reaſon of the ſame poſition. For this poſition ſtiffly maintained maketh the breach to become a matter of conſcience: For when the one ſide (as the Lutherans do) ceaſeth not to charge the other with the crime of hereſie, and the other ſide (as the Reformed do) uſeth no ſufficient means to take away this imputation, it muſt needs follow that ſuch Rulers of State as give credit to their Clergy, and are

which is proved

By Experience,

And by Reaſon.

religiouſly ſet, muſt be poſſeſſed with an averſeneſſe from thoſe whom they imagine to be guilty of ſo great a crime. From hence then it is manifeſt how neceſſary this work of ſpirituall reconciliation is unto the Proteſtant cauſe: For if the preſervation both of Church and State ought to be a matter of neceſſitie, and if this preſervation cannot be hoped for without a civill league, or a civill league either well framed and faithfully kept afoot except ſuch imputations as theſe be taken out of the way, it followeth that the one can have no being without the other. Neither can indeed a bleſſing from heaven be expected upon the civill league without the other reconcilement: becauſe it is juſt before God to divide the hearts and counſels of thoſe which are not confederates together in him by his truth, chiefly then, when for his truths ſake they are ſet upon, and know themſelves bound in conſcience to preferre the care of Religion to all other intentions. From whence we ſee that the benefit which may redound from the bond of Eccleſiaſticall peace towards the civill league is the greateſt that can be thought on to conſerve State and Religion: So that to aim at a temporall league without the ſpirituall reconcilement of affections in a religious way, is to undertake a work which God will never bleſſe, and which will betray the cauſe for which it is undertaken. Thus then I conclude, That it will be a matter of abſolute neceſſitie to make theſe endeavours to concurre together.

Concerning the ſecond.

Points to be conſidered in

But how muſt this concurrence be framed? what is

is to be obſerved in the conjunction of theſe two endeavours, that the end thereof may be obtained? I ſuppoſe this queſtion will be anſwered if theſe things were opened: Firſt, What each of theſe works is, being conſidered in it ſelf: Secondly, What relation each work hath to the other: Thirdly, What conſiderable circumſtances are to be taken notice of, to diſcern what may chiefly be done in the ſpirituall part of the work at this time: And laſtly, What particular endeavours may further the joynt effect thereof in this negotiation. *the ſecond Head.*

1. *Of the properties of each work by it ſelf.*

THe properties chiefly obſervable in the work of Eccleſiaſtical reconciliatiõ are theſe, That it muſt be wrought by ſpirituall men, by ſpirituall means, in ſuch a manner as may neither ſcandalize the weak, nor give advantage to the captious, and towards ſuch a ſcope as may be free from the imputation of all manner of partialitie, and anſwerable to the edification of all men that make profeſſion of Chriſtianitie. This ſcope of the work being well conceived will determine all the reſt of the properties thereof, becauſe they are and muſt be ſubordinate unto it: Therefore we muſt begin with it. And to do ſo, what if we ſhould ſay thus, That the ſcope of Eccleſiaſticall reconcilement, ſought for amongſt Proteſtants, ought to be the eſtabliſhment and encreaſe of godly and brotherly love, between themſelves and all other men, through the common and publick acknowledgment, profeſſion and practice of that truth and thoſe duties which are neceſſary and ſufficient *what the ſcope of Eccleſiaſticall reconcilement is,*

And to whom it may reach,

for all ſouls to attain thereby unto ſalvation. From this ſcope none are expreſſely to be excluded of whom there is any hope: For although in the work wherein Proteſtants ſeek to be at peace amongſt themſelves, their immediate aim is their mutuall edification, leſt continuing to bite and devour one another they ſhould be in the end conſumed one of another, yet their chief and laſt intention ought not to reſt in their own particular benefit, but ſhould be raiſed to an univerſall good and upright meaning towards all men that can poſſibly receive it, or may become willing to partake thereof. Thus then, the paſſionate affection of ſome which are chiefly ſet upon the work rather for a private advantage, and to exclude their profeſſed adverſaries from all means of Chriſtian unitie & peace, then to win and ſave all, is not to be allowed of; becauſe in true Chriſtianitie there is no partiality, but the good, which we for our own ſelves ſeek in Chriſt Jeſus, ought to be made, ſo far as in us lyeth, common to all men, and we in ſeeking it ought not to intend our ſelves onely, but ſhould crave it of God and apply it alſo unto others. For this was the mind of Chriſt in procuring all his Fathers benefits unto us, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Rom. 15. v. 1, to 8. and Phil. 2. v. 1, to 9. When this ſcope is really intended and well ſcanned, it will diſcover what kind of ſpirituall men ought to go about it, and chiefly to be dealt withall in it; what kind of diſpoſitions and learning they ought to have; what kind of means muſt be made uſe of, as well in dealing with men that are averſe from peace, as alſo in rectifying the effect thereof with ſuch as are peaceable;

And what men and means muſt be uſed to attain unto it,

and

and laſtly, what cautions ought to be obſerved in the manner of proceeding, to make uſe of theſe means, and to ratifie that effect, that the inconveniences of two extremes may be avoyded; namely of the weak Chriſtians on all ſides, leſt they ſtumble and be offended at theſe proceedings; and of the malignant adverſaries, leſt they take occaſion to diſgrace the work, and ſpeak evil of the truth of godlineſſe and of all Religion. Of all theſe properties belonging to this work and ariſing from the main ſcope thereof, much may be ſaid, and muſt be thought on hereafter, when it ſhall be ſeaſonable to ſpeak of particulars. Therefore at this preſent we will not go further in this ſubject, then to take notice, That ſuch men are only fit to be ſet upon this work which have univerſall thoughts, and are not wedded to any ſingular courſe of this age; That ſuch means muſt be applyed to the work which in theorie and practice are undoubted fundamentals of ſalvation, and clearly known in the conſciences of all honeſt men to be matters without all controverſie; And that the manner of applying theſe means to the work to ratifie the effect thereof, muſt be fitted, Firſt, towards the weaker ſort of Chriſtians, with ſuch a ſtooping unto them in true carefulneſſe, lovingneſſe, and lowlineſſe of ſpirit, and with ſuch an accommodation of all matters unto their capacitie by the clear inſinuations and fit gradations of propoſals, that they may reſt ſatiſfied and no wayes troubled in conſcience at doubts which will be incident; Then in the ſecond place, That towards the captious evil-willers of the work, the manner of proceeding muſt be with ſuch evidence.

And how they muſt be applyed in the work.

evidence and demonſtration of truths propoſed, and without all offenſiveneſſe in propoſing the ſame unto them, that if it be poſſible they alſo may either be gained, or elſe made aſhamed of their malitiouſneſſe, when they ſhall not be able to finde any advantage againſt the proceedings. Theſe are ſummarily the properties and conditions requiſite to attain the effect of Eccleſiaſticall reconciliation, if it be conſidered by it ſelf.

The properties of the civill conſederation,

The properties of the other work, being alſo looked upon in it ſelf, ſeem chiefly to be theſe: That, it being once undertaken by faithfull and worthy States-men by means of ſupreme authoritie, it muſt be brought to paſſe and confirmed in ſuch a manner as may neither prejudge the fundamentall reaſons of any particular State, nor give any advantage to the common enemies to diſcover and croſſe the counſels thereof; and for ſuch an end as is juſtifiable before all men, in the way of conſcience, of reaſon, and of naturall defence. Which being done, a courſe alſo muſt be taken by good correſpondencie to maintain the league once confirmed. Now from this end of the league, all the properties requiſite in the Authours, Means, and Manner of proceeding can be gathered, becauſe the properties of every thing intended define the middle cauſes fit to purchaſe the ſame. If then the end of this negotiation muſt be to ſtirre up a neceſſary mutuall care, and to eſtabliſh a conjunction of endeavours amongſt all Proteſtants for the preſervation of the liberties and rites civill, religious and Eccleſiaſticall, of Proteſtants in Germany, leſt the houſe of Auſtria lay for it ſelf a foun-

And the ſcope thereof.

dation

dation of an univerſall Monarchy in their ruines; then it may be conceived by what perſons and means the confederation may be ſought for, how it ſhould be brought to paſſe, and what will be requiſite to confirm it amongſt thoſe that have intereſt in the cauſe; which are all ſuch to whom the houſe of Auſtria is or will be either intolerable or dreadfull in theſe preſent conqueſts. Concerning which things it is out of mine element to ſpeak at large: And therefore I will reſt in theſe generalities, which I mention onely to intimate that it is not onely poſſible to frame and confirm ſuch a league amongſt Proteſtants, if they be not altogether inſenſible of their own dangers, but alſo feaſible enough and not very difficult, if the true relation which the one work muſt have to the other in their neceſſary concurrence be rightly obſerved, and inſtruments imployed about the ſame.

II. Of the relation which the one work hath to the other.

IN the beginning was ſhewed that the civill league dependeth upon the work of Eccleſiaſticall reconcilement, as the body doth upon the ſoul: Now we may ſay on the other ſide again, That the Eccleſiaſticall work dependeth upon the civill confederation, as the ſoul upon the body. For indeed betwixt ſoul and body there is a mutuall dependence; ſo that the one is not ſo apparently ſubſiſting without the other: Therefore it may be concluded, That except the body of a civill confederation be intended and ſought for, the work of Eccleſiaſticall reconcile-

ment will never come to a publick and viſible eſtate of ratification, no more then our ſouls are to be ſeen without their naturall bodies; yet becauſe the ſouls of men have by themſelves alſo a being and ſubſiſtence without their bodies, it is manifeſt that ſpirituall things which have a relation unto mens ſouls ought not to be ſuſpended from their bodyly conditions, but may and ſhould be ſought for by themſelves. From whence it followeth that the work of ſpirituall reconcilement ſhould be agitated, although the other be not intended; that yet this muſt not be made an appendix thereof, but taken up for it ſelf, as a buſineſſe ſtanding upon its own principles, tending to its own end (which is the advancement of Gods kingdome) and which may run along in its own channels together with the other work, even as the arteries, which are conduits of the vitall ſpirits, concurre together in one body with the veins thereof, which contain the maſſe of blood. I ſuppoſe then that the Authours of both works, their endeavours, means and manner of proceedings, ought to be not onely conjoint, but alſo in ſome caſes dependant each upon other; yet ſo, that there be no confuſion and commixture of the chief aims, of the principles of the fundamentall proceedings, by which each work is to be perfected. For each work having its own aim, its own principles and wayes diſtinctly to be uſed, in and for its ſelf, muſt needs have alſo its own Authours and Actours diſtinguiſhed, which nevertheleſſe muſt not onely correſpond together and do things with mutuall knowledge, but alſo aſſiſt and help one another with advice and addreſſe

dreſſe in matters of moment, that when either hopes and likelihoods appear both may know each others advantages; or when difficulties either way are incident, preventions may be both wayes uſed, leſt from the circumſtances of the one ſome inconveniences might reflect upon the other. Therefore the undertakers of both works, before they enter in agitation, ought to preconceive their plots, and make an agreement together concerning the manner of their relative proceedings, chiefly in thoſe caſes wherein it may be conjectured that jealouſies, taken up by others from matters which happily will fall out on either ſide, may cauſe a difficulty in both works. For if either the inſtrument of a civill league ſhould agitate too much with Divines (or with States-men) the work of Eccleſiaſticall reconcilement, or the undertaker of the ſpirituall work ſhould ſhew himſelf too forward in matters of State, both might incurre the ſuſpicion of not dealing ſincerely; becauſe the Clergie might be jealous that ſomething might be intended to their prejudice, if matters of Religion ſhould be too farre meddled into by States-men; and the States-men might ſuſpect the ſpirituall Agent, that his chief and reall aim was not a true compoſition of differences in Religion, but rather ſome pretext ſubtilly made uſe of to cover ſome other worldly intention, which would marre all, and make both them and their Divines ſhie and fearfull to meddle in the one or in the other buſineſſe. Now to avoid this and many other inconveniences which might be reckoned up, each muſt agitate his own work, and yet not without the fore-knowledge and

preconſultation with the other; which ſufficeth to frame a fit concurrence at incident occaſions of ſpeciall moment, which being openly countenanced by authority will make a deep impreſsion upon mens affections. And to this effect alſo the moſt obſervable circumſtances of times, places, and perſons muſt be preconceived, and a courſe laid how to make uſe of the ſame as well joyntly as ſeverally.

III. Of the conſiderable circumſtances of the ſpirituall work, to diſcern what may be done in it at this time.

THe poſsibilitie of all effects ariſeth from the fitneſſe of means to be uſed towards the ſame: The fitneſſe of means conſiſteth in the properties of circumſtances wherewith they are clothed. Theſe circumſtances are chiefly time, place, and perſons: Therefore to ſee the poſsibility of this ſpirituall work, theſe circumſtances are to be conſidered. The ſeaſonableneſſe of this time to agitate in theſe matters ariſeth two wayes; partly from the extreme dangers and diſtractions of the Churches and of the minds of men, partly from the preparations made already towards the accompliſhment of the work in the ſpirits of thoſe that can beſt help to bring it to paſſe. The firſt circumſtance of this time maketh this buſineſſe to be a matter of abſolute neceſſity; the ſecond ſheweth the poſſibility thereof. The diſtractions and dangers of Proteſtants are almoſt infinite, they cannot be reckoned up: for what Church is it that is not divided from its neighbour & ſubdivided in it ſelf? where is true brotherly love without reſpect

reſpect of perſons and partiality? where is a true care for godlineſſe and religiouſneſſe conſidered in it ſelf, without ſiding to this or that faction? what is become of the Communion of Saints tending to uphold the duties of charity and mutuall edification? Is not all this gone and loſt? and is not all manner of bitterneſſe in diſputes, raylings, and reproches, and all kind of diſorder, indiffidences, factions and plots undertaken one againſt another come in ſtead thereof? Hence it is that the peace of the Churches being diſturbed with violent affections and uncharitable practices, there is not onely amongſt Divines a breach in communion about ſpirituall matters, but alſo that mutuall amity and fidelity which is requiſite in States-men, for the concourſe of Councels in common affairs of a publick nature, is decayed and broken all to pieces. Thus they are become a prey unto their adverſaries. And although they can perceive that their ſtrength is almoſt broken, yet they cannot joyn in counſel for their mutuall preſervation, but whileſt the Auſtrians are before, which devour Proteſtants with open mouth, and falſe brethren behind, which undermine their counſels, their heads are brought very low, their ſtate is overthrown, their Church is darkened, their land is burnt up, and the people thereof is as the fewel to the fire; yet for all that, ſcarce any Proteſtant Divine or States-man ſpareth his brother, but he ſnatcheth on the right hand and is ſtill hungry, and eateth on the left hand and is not yet ſatisfied: every man eateth the fleſh of his own arm, or ſtrengtheneth his adverſaries with the overthrow of his brethren; Manaſſeh

is againſt Ephraim, and Ephraim againſt Manaſſeh, and they both are againſt Judah, and what the end of this will be God alone doth know. Neither is there any that ſeemeth hitherto to have taken this matter ſo ſeriouſly to heart as the importance thereof doth require: for although theſe thoughts of Reconcilement are now become of abſolute neceſsity, yet many do not apprehend them to be of ſuch a nature. Nevertheleſſe to me ſure it is, that if the deſire to preſerve both Church and State be at this time neceſſary to a conſcionable and honeſt mind, and if this deſire cannot be attained without a confederation and conjunction of divided ſpirits, nor this conjunction either be procured or faithfully maintained except the ground thereof be laid in the hearts of Clergy-men; then it followeth, that both to facilitate and to confirm the civill confederation, this work of Eccleſiaſticall Reconcilement is not onely ſeaſonable, but of abſolute neceſsity to be undertaken; and although there were none other circumſtance but this to move an honeſt heart to think upon this matter, this alone ought to ſuffice. But beſides this there is another circumſtance of ſeaſonableneſſe ariſing from the preparatives made already in the minds of men towards the effect of reconciliation; for it is moſt true, that all mens thoughts in all Churches and States are already ſtirred up and wrought upon in ſome meaſure to this effect, inſomuch that there is ſcarce any but he hath ſome impreſsion concerning the effect of this Negotiation. True it is that ſome fear it, ſome hope for it, ſome doubt what to think of it, and ſome laugh at it; all theſe howſoever

ver well or ill affected, are already prepared in ſome ſort unto the further agitation of the buſineſſe, for whatſoever the diſpoſition of their mind be, it is no great matter for this time preſent, becauſe it ſufficeth to make the work ſeaſonable, that there be ſome kind of reall impreſsions and thoughts reflecting upon it. If their impreſsions and thoughts be good, it is ſo much the better; if they be indifferent, yet becauſe they are thoughts of ſuch a work, the mind is diſpoſed towards the effect thereof, which will not be found unſeaſonable unto them; if they be rather evil then good, that is, if they either deſpiſe it as a matter too meanly undertaken by one of no appearance, or deſpair of it as a matter of too great difficultie, yet it is not unſeaſonable to deal with them in it, although it were for none other cauſe then to rectifie their judgements in theſe conceptions, which concern both the manner of proceeding, which is thought to be diſproportionate unto ſuch an end, and the matter which is thought to be of ſo great weight that it cannot be heaved; if at laſt they be wholly evil, that is, if they fear either the effect of peace it ſelf, or my perſon and negotiation in it, then it is moſt of all not ſeaſonable onely, but even neceſſary alſo to deal with them, that their needleſſe fears may be corrected and better impreſsions wrought upon them, leſt they be moved through jealouſies for ſiniſter and private ends to hinder theſe proceedings, either by neglect of duties requiſite, or by croſſe courſes ſecretly or openly taken in hand. Thus ſeeing mens ſpirits are wakened up, and a reall expectation is raiſed in their minds of ſome thing which may be

be done in this work, it is ſeaſonable to entertain the ſame by ſuch a continuance of agitation in this matter which may rectifie the evil, prevent the worſt, and ſtrengthen the good affections. And thus much of the ſeaſonableneſſe of the time. The conſideration of the place is of no ſmall moment in the production of all things, becauſe it is a matrix wherein the ſeed of every thing is conceived, which moſt commonly according to its fit or unfit diſpoſition either marreth or maketh the ſhape of that which is brought forth. Therefore if this place, I mean Hamburgh and Lubeck, be rightly conſidered, it will be found in two reſpects moſt fit for the agitation of this work: Firſt, in reſpect of the ſituation, that theſe cities are in the middeſt of all Proteſtant States, and moſt convenient to entertain correſpondence with all others of both ſides, not onely becauſe they are as a centre amongſt the reſt, but chiefly becauſe they have perpetuall occaſions of conveyance to all quarters, ſo that at one time information may be given to all parties of every occurrence that may fall out. Secondly, in reſpect that theſe are free cities, not onely free for all perſons to reſort unto ſafely from all quarters, without all jealouſies and outward reſpects prejudiciall unto the work, but alſo fitted with certain Divines of ſpeciall uſe, by whoſe means (if they be once gained to the cauſe) all the reſt of Germany may without all difficultie be wrought upon. Laſtly, the perſons conſiderable & fit to be made uſe of both here & elſwhere, are all ſuch Divines as follow one John Arnd, formerly generall Superintendent at Luneburgh, who hath laboured with good effect

to

to draw the minds of Lutheran Divines from diſputes, unto the thoughts of a godly life. Theſe men are all zealous for peace, and ſpare not to bear witneſſe againſt the unconſcionable and partiall dealings of many of their own Clergy. And beſides theſe, other known prudent and moderate men who are in eminent places of authority can be made uſe of, amongſt which the Lord Chancellour of Denmark Friſe, and the Lord Chancellour of Holſtein Ravenelow, and my Lord Roſencrants, and others as well here in Hamburg and Lubeck and elſewhere, can be ſet a work towards their own Clergie to take off the edge of their ſpirits in many things; with moſt of whom acquaintance is either made already, or may be made by fit addreſſe hereafter.

IV. Of the particular intentions and endeavours which I ought to undertake to advance the effect of theſe Negotiations.

WHen I begin to think of my ſelf, and of the endeavours which I have already undertaken, and which I ought and may further undertake, two things repreſent themſelves unto me: Firſt, what the inward purpoſes and reſolutions of my mind ought to be towards the work. Secondly, what outward undertakings muſt follow thereupon to gain the effect intended. As concerning the reſolutions and purpoſes of my mind, they were ſettled before I came out of Sweden in theſe particulars: Firſt, that I ſhould never leave the thoughts of this work ſo long as I live. Secondly, that I ſhould intend it for it ſelf, and keep it free from being ſubor-

dinate to particular politick ends. Thirdly, that I ſhould follow none other wayes in proſecuting of it, then ſuch as are moſt anſwerable to the Goſpel of Chriſt, and may be made uſe of without all occaſion of diſpute, ſtrife and ſcandall. To theſe and to ſome other reſolutions ſubordinate to theſe, I am bound by a ſolemn vow, which vow cannot be retracted nor altered. Therefore if I purpoſe to keep my promiſe conſcionably, I am bound to dedicate my ſelf wholly unto the effect of the work, with a purpoſe not onely to entertain my ſelf ſpeculatively with this object of meditation, but rather to endeavour effectually the work it ſelf, at leaſt ſo long as I can by any lawfull means poſſibly ſubſiſt to proceed in it. I ſuppoſe then I have here a task for my whole life, and therefore will make no haſte to rid my ſelf of it, nor ever think of being weary, or of taking any other thing in hand, which is not either collaterally helpfull or ſubordinate unto it. For when I enter ſeriouſly within my ſelf to conſider what courſe of life I muſt from henceforth follow, that I may be able to perform the vows and promiſes which I have made unto Almighty God, I find that I muſt reſolve before all things to be no more mine own man in any thing, but a ſervant to the work and to ſuch as will help to further it; whereupon this conſequence followeth, that as I muſt reſigne and give up my ſelf unto the work, ſo I muſt reſolve to be at full libertie and free from all other occaſions, obligations and relations which may divide and diſtract my thoughts from it.

Having thus ſettled the main buſineſſe which doth con-

concern my conſcience, when I reflect afterward upon particulars, I find, that to concurre effectually with the work of a civill Confederation, I muſt propoſe unto my ſelf this diſtinct ſcope, namely, to labour to diſpoſe the ſpirits of the Clergie of both ſides, but chiefly of the Lutherans, to have good and moderate thoughts of their neighbours and friends the Reformed Churches. For indeed, though both ſides be in ſome things faulty, yet the chief fault lieth in the ſpirits of ſome Lutheran Divines, who either through ignorant zeal or forwardly ends diſturb the peace of Proteſtants. And the way which they take to do it is none other but a pretext of maintaining truth againſt Calviniſts (under which name all Reformed Churches are meant) who are ſaid to be guilty of moſt damnable hereſies. Therefore to moderate this untoward affection this pretext muſt needs be taken away: And to do it, the chief Lutheran Divines muſt be made really ſenſible that the Reformed Churches are not guilty of hereſie, but are in very deed true Evangelicall Chriſtians and ſound Profeſſours of the Goſpel; which thing although it be no difficult matter in it ſelf to be made good, yet it will prove a task of no eaſie performance to make Lutherans ſo farre obliged to take notice of this truth, that they ſhall not be able any more to decline the acknowledgement thereof. Now to gain this purpoſe, ſome treaty muſt needs be intended with the Lutheran Clergie, and it muſt be a peaceable treaty void of all occaſion of jealouſie and offence; but how this treaty may be drawn on, by what means and manner of proceedings it muſt

be proſecuted, How the preparations thereof may be negotiated, How the difficulties which are or will be incident to theſe proceedings may be overcome, are things now to be thought upon, before the work it ſelf be further undertaken.

Concerning the way how to draw on inſenſibly theſe treaties.

I Have hitherto profeſſed my ſelf like a publick Solicitor of peaceable counſels betwixt both parties, to ſee what good inclinations either were or might be wrought upon the ſpirits of Clergy men in this age, towards their mutuall edification in duties belonging to the Communion of Saints. How much my ſolicitation hath ſtirred them up to theſe thoughts, and how farre they are prepared to admit or not to admit of peaceable propoſitions, it is not fit for me to declare; I hope hereafter the effect it ſelf ſhall ſpeak. But ſeeing I am reſolved ſtill to continue and to proceed to win by little and little and draw on the Lutheran Clergy towards friendly and peaceable affections, I conceive that it cannot be otherwiſe brought to paſſe then by ſuch proceedings as hitherto I have uſed. Whereof the firſt ſtep hath been alwayes, a free, unpartiall, and unblameable converſation with the chief Divines to make acquaintance with them. When acquaintance is made, the next ſtep is, to come by degrees inſenſibly to inſinuate matters of mutuall edification, in making them ſenſible of ſuch duties of Chriſtianity which are moſt neceſſary at this time to be ſet upon by men of conſcience and charitie: By this means the

the inclinations and diſpoſitions of their minds will either, if they be good, break forth and diſcover themſelves, or if they be raw and untoward, will be in ſome part prepared towards further thoughts of this nature. This being done, a man may draw ſomewhat near the ſubject of peace and mutuall reconcilement, in making them think of the great inconveniences of ſchiſmes and diviſions amongſt Proteſtants, and of the great good which might redound to all Chriſtians, if the true cauſes and originall motives of ſuch differences might really be taken out of the way, as well by ſettling mens judgments in the truth of Chriſtian Religion which are wholly undoubted, as by bringing their will to affect the main duties, wherein the publick and Eccleſiaſticall profeſſion thereof conſiſteth: Of which duties the firſt ground doth ſeem to be this, That all men, and chiefly Divines, are bound in conſcience to intend truly and profeſſe openly a deſire and willingneſſe to be at peace with peaceable neighbours; and, That they ought to account peaceable neighbours ſuch men as not onely ſtudy to be void of offenſe towards others, but alſo deſire to entertain love and friendſhip with them. Theſe principles being propoſed and wrought upon the minds of ſome of their Leaders, it might be tryed whether or no they could be brought to declare and promiſe that they will concurre in thoughts and treaties, by which the grounds of former, and the caſes of future ſcandals and contentions might be taken away from amongſt Proteſtants. If then they ſhould not be averſe from ſuch a motion, they might be brought by degrees

forward; Firſt, To entertain private thoughts by themſelves concerning the poſſibilitie of advancing ſuch treaties: Secondly, To communicate ſuch thoughts to others, which ſhall be found deſirous to conferre without prejudice about this matter with them: Thirdly, To heare the propoſals of others, and declare how farre they agree or diſagree with the ſame, that means may be thought upon, by which difficulties and incident cauſes of diſagreement at the treatie may either be prevented or taken out of the way. If any three or foure leading-men of the Lutheran ſide can be brought thus farre, (whereunto it is likely that all reaſonable and conſcionable Divines will eaſily be brought) there is much wonne in the cauſe. For the ſchiſme is upheld by none but by a few, who indeed decline all occaſions of orderly treaties, but yet dare not openly profeſſe any unwillingneſſe towards the ſame. When therefore a willingneſſe is thus ſtirred up in ſome, and the averſeneſſe of others is prevented ſo that it cannot openly break forth, if then it be found expedient to proſecute the work in a more publick way, the conſent of Princes will be requiſite, to have a preparatory meeting in ſome place, onely of ſome chief and well diſpoſed perſons on both ſides; wherein the generall grounds of an agreement might be layd, and a reſolution taken how to proceed by degrees afterwards to a more full concluſion, and how to ratifie the agreement in all particulars of moment, with conſent and counſel of ſuch as may pretend ſome intereſt in the buſineſſe. But becauſe we are not yet come ſo farre as to draw the chief Divines of theſe quarters

quarters to affect a treatie, and to conſent to a meeting of this nature, therefore it is now to no purpoſe to ſpeak of that which might be done at it, but I will come to mine own private task, to ſhew by what means other preparatives of ſuch a treatie may be negotiated openly and more irreſiſtibly, and how the pretext by which Lutheran Divines uſe to keep up ſtrife and alienate the affections of men, otherwiſe harmleſſe and ſimple, might be taken out of our way.

Concerning the more effectuall means and manner of proceedings towards the preparatives of a more publick treatie.

I Will ſuppoſe here either that the foreſaid inſenſible way of working upon the Lutheran ſpirits will take none effect at all, except it be immediately backt with chief authoritie, or elſe although it may take ſome effect, yet that it is not a ſufficient preparation for this preſent exigencie of affairs, becauſe it is too ſlow, longſome, and imperceptible: Therefore the queſtion may be thus made, What? cannot the work be proſecuted otherwiſe? Cannot a friendly treatie be drawn on without all theſe preparatives? Is it not poſſible that either the differences may be fully compoſed, or elſe that unreaſonable pretext of ſtrife, whereby the Lutherans accuſe the reformed Churches of hereſie, be fully taken away? To anſwer this queſtion, I ſay Yea: The work can be more effectually proſecuted both wayes, that is to ſay, that not onely the preparatives of a friendly treatie to compoſe the differences with more effectuall

ctuall endeavours then theſe are can be brought to paſſe; but alſo that the rayling accuſation and ſtumbling block of hereſie, imputed unto the Reformed Churches, may invincibly be taken out of the way. And to make both theſe aſſertions to appear, I will briefly lay down the wayes whereby they may be brought to paſſe.

Concerning the more effectuall preparatives of a peaceable treaty, the way to bring the ſame irreſiſtibly to paſſe, muſt needs have two degrees, whereof the firſt muſt be grounded upon ſome former treaties in Germany and Sweden. And the ſecond may come from a new riſe, which now may be taken from the circumſtances of this ſeaſon. The proceedings which are to be grounded upon former negotiations, do preſuppoſe and prerequire ſome ſmall acquaintance with ſome of the chief Lutheran Divines: becauſe the firſt ground and riſe of all Theologicall and ſpirituall proceedings which will be effectuall muſt be love, becauſe nothing but charitie doth edifie. And to beget love, there muſt be an Impartiall and familiar way of converſation undertaken to gain private acquaintance, by which the occaſion of humane jealouſies may be prevented, which are incident amongſt all men that without former acquaintance treat of important affairs one with another. Let us then ſuppoſe that this acquaintance is made, and ſuch a familiarity begotten as is requiſite to make a beginning of the work which I ſhould go about. Here then the proceeding to bring on the treaty muſt be thus, Firſt, a draught of my ſcope muſt be imparted to him with whom I am to deal,

deal, to deſire him to think upon it, and let me know his opinion concerning it, whether or no there be any thing amiſſe in it, and if it may fitly be imparted to others that are capable of ſuch thoughts. This being done, if the ſcope be not diſallowed, it muſt alſo be imparted unto ſome of the Magiſtrates of the place, that States-men alſo may be made acquainted with it; and if circumſtances require (either to further mainly the buſineſſe, or to prevent incident lets) a petition unto the Councel of State may go along with it, or ſoon after follow it, requiring two things: Firſt, That the conſideration thereof in generall terms may be recommended unto the Clergie: Secondly, That one or two may be nominated to whom the particular agitation of the buſineſſe may be referred. When ſuch a Reference is made, then the private treaties are begun, which muſt be proſecuted in writing by degrees and ſlowly; and that for many reaſons, amongſt which I will onely name two: Firſt, That time may be gained to work good impreſſions in the hearts of honeſt men that have been miſ-informed againſt us: Secondly, That addreſſe may be made at all occaſions towards one or two of the chief Senatours, to give them notice of all the paſſages of the treatie, and know ſome part of their mind concerning it. If then this treatie with one or two Divines cometh to ſuch ripeneſſe, that they will deſire to acquaint their colleagues in a collegiall way, either to gain their publick conſent, or to ſhift handſomely the conſequence of the buſineſſe from themſelves to the multitude, then the reſt alſo of the Clergie muſt be inform-

ed of the true circumſtances of all matters, either ſeverally every one in particular, or elſe collegially at their meetings. To which effect ſome particular writings (whereof the copies muſt alwayes be given to ſome of the Senatours) muſt be ordained. Now the matters whereof a treaty in this kind is to be proſecuted muſt be ſuch which are already conſented unto, and adviſed upon by others, whereof authenticall documents muſt be produced: and the end for which theſe matters are to be treated upon muſt be none other then to gain their aſſent and further advice thereunto. If then no reſolution fall at the collegiall meeting, but occaſion is taken to delay and ſhift off the buſineſſe for ſome pretence or other, they muſt not be urged with importunity, but left unto their own leaſure. And in the mean time, either a courſe may be taken to deal afreſh in the ſame way with others, or elſe if none be more to be dealt with-all, then the Acts may be communicated unto every one that is deſirous to ſee the ſame; and chiefly inſinuated to men of note, as well ſuch as are zealots for the Lutheran cauſe, as to ſuch as are conſcionably and honeſtly affected towards peace and unitie: and towards theſe ſome further means either in private or in publick may be uſed, that they may give occaſion unto their Clergie to break off ſilence, and declare their reſolutions towards peaceable endeavours. And if either of theſe means take or take not, at laſt the Acts may be ſent to ſome chief Univerſities of both ſides, and ſubmitted unto their judgements. After all which, both the Acts and the judgements thereof may be publiſhed in print, with a Preface

face to remonſtrate unto the rulers of Chriſtian States, what the true cauſes and remedies of ſchiſmes are, and how by amiable and conſcionable treaties amongſt ſober and godly Divines all inconvenients of ſtrifes and endleſſe diſputes might be taken out of the way, with an exhortation and entreaty towards them, to chooſe out and authorize fit men to go with conſent and liking of their brethren about ſuch a work, for the generall good of Chriſtendome and particular of Proteſtant Churches. If then any Prince or State be ſtirred up to take this reſolution, and will give occaſion to others to enter with ſome of his Clergy upon theſe thoughts, the matter may be further prepared by certain degrees of publick meetings whereof it is not yet time to ſpeak. And this is the firſt way taken from the ground of former treaties.

The ſecond way of proceeding in this buſineſſe may take the riſe from the circumſtances of this preſent time, and then it will have a relation unto the publick dangers of Proteſtant Churches and States, and to the neceſsity of a brotherly league and confederation betwixt the ſame againſt their common enemies. Here then, all ſuch as have reall intention to frame ſuch a League to ſupport the Proteſtant cauſe, and to reſtore the houſe Palatine in Germany, I ſuppoſe will eaſily be perſwaded to further the ſpirituall part of this League, that is to ſay, to care for the ſoul of their conjunction as well as for the bodily part thereof. Here then there ſhould be a purpoſe of negotiating for a league with the German Princes and Lutheran States, and the Ambaſſadour

that is to labour in it ſhould have one with him authorized and inſtructed by eminent authority to treat with the Lutheran Clergy about the work of Eccleſiaſticall Reconcilement, who might have ſome inſtructions to ſome ſuch effects as theſe may be; Firſt, to do nothing without foreknowledge and expreſſe conſent of the Ambaſſadour ſent to make the league: Secondly, to treat with none obligatorily, but with ſuch Divines as ſhall expreſſely be named to that effect by that Prince or State with whom the Ambaſſadour ſhould be in treaty for the other conjunction: Thirdly, to treat of matters onely preparatorily by way of conſultation, with a reference to ſome other future treaties which in due time might be taken in hand: Fourthly, to treat onely of means and wayes belonging to the ſcope of religious agreement in matters of difference, which have bred diſputes and publick ſcandalls; to which effect he ſhould be authorized to teſtifie a willingneſſe in the Church from whence he cometh, to advance unity amongſt all Chriſtians, and chiefly to try by what means in due time a more ſtrict and near Eccleſiaſticall agreement might be brought to paſſe amongſt Proteſtants: Fifthly, to avoid and decline all particular occaſions of diſpute and debatement about matters controverſall: Sixthly, to make ſuch propoſall of particular means and wayes of agreement as will be then found expedient to be mentioned by thoſe from whom he cometh, and will probably be entertained by thoſe to whom he is ſent. Such like inſtructions being given to one that is acquainted with the perſons, humours, and controverſies of Lutheran Divines,

vines, and by ſome experience can foreſee, prevent, and anſwer their ſcruples, jealouſies, doubts, ſhifts, and difficulties, no doubt a publick treaty might very eaſily be brought to paſſe to great good purpoſe about the work of Reconciliation. For if the minds of one or two Divines about every Prince ſhould in this manner be drawn and prepared really to affect, or at leaſt not to diſaffect, the purpoſe of a further treaty at ſome friendly meeting, the way of coming together might without great difficulty be ſo contrived that by little and little all matters might be compoſed and ſettled in unitie without all occaſion of ſtrife and diſpute. And the chief motive why a Theologicall treaty in this kind ought to be intended and urged as a thing moſt neceſſary amongſt Proteſtants, may be alledged by the Ambaſſadour of the Civill League to be this, That ſeeing in a faithfull confederation and brotherly league for mutuall defence betwixt two parties for each others lives, liberties, and rights, there ought not to be any known cauſe of doubt concerning the ſinceritie of mutuall love and upright intentions betwixt the confederates left untaken away, leſt the reall effect thereof be diſappointed: and ſeeing it is notoriouſly known that one of the greateſt cauſes by which mutuall love and ſincere intentions can be broken off, hath been exiſtent and is not yet truly taken away from the ſpirits of Lutheran Divines, who have eſteemed hitherto all Reformed Proteſtants no better then damnable hereticks, therefore to take away this cauſe of disjunction and of breach in true love, it will be neceſſary to permit chief Divines of

both ſides to treat in a friendly manner, that they may receive ſatisfaction one from another in matters of doubt, and that they may take away the cauſes of miſtakes and future breaches, and confirm their love one towards another. And to this effect it might alſo be intimated, that, whiles ſuch intentions of brotherly reconcilement are in agitation, it would be fit a courſe ſhould be taken to forbid railing accuſations and odious imputations from the pulpit on both ſides, in hope that the grounds thereof will ſhortly be taken away to the full content of every one.

Hitherto the preparatives of a publick treaty have been ſpoken of, but in caſe no ſuch amiable treaties can be produced, then remaineth the laſt attempt which may be intended, that the pretext of ſchiſme whereby many damnable errours are laid to the charge of the Reformed Churches can be taken away, and the Lutheran Divines made to take notice that all Reformed Proteſtants are wronged by ſuch imputations. To do this, as formerly, ſo now acquaintance muſt be made with the ring-leaders of that ſide, which chiefly uphold the diviſion; and when the matters of duty belonging to mutuall edification are without prejudice propoſed, a queſtion muſt be made concerning the cauſes which hinder the work of Reconcilement, to know in particular what they are, what may be thought a ſufficient and requiſite means to take thē out of the way. To which queſtion a ſhort and friendly anſwer from him with whom the treaty is begun muſt be procured in writing, wherein as well the Catalogue of thoſe things which are laid to the charge of the Reformed Churches,

Churches, as alſo the deſcription of that which ought to be done to cauſe theſe imputations ceaſe, ſhould be ſet down. This anſwer may be procured either immediately by him that proſecuteth the work of Eccleſiaſticall Reconcilement, or elſe by the mediation or intervention of others who will be able and willing to procure it. For it may be gotten either in a publick or in a private way, as well by ſome Lutheran as Reformed men of note; and perhaps it will not be amiſſe that the Ambaſſadour for the League ſhould move the Princes, who may be brought into the Confederation, to command their Divines to ſet down in ſhort terms without all partiality and rayling affection the true exceptions which they make againſt the publick Confeſſion of the Reformed Churches, that a courſe might be thought upon how to give them ſatisfaction in all matters that are colourably propoſed to maintain their diviſion. Now when theſe exceptions are ſpecified by three or foure of the chief Leaders of that party, the whole Theologicall difficulty of the buſineſſe will appear; which being reduced to a few heads, a full reſolution thereof might authentically be produced from all quarters where the Reformed Religion hath a form and being in the State, that all doubts from whence the imputations of grievous errours do ariſe may be ſatisfactorily cleared. And in the mean time while this is a doing, the Lutheran Divines might be put to a peculiar task; namely, to reſolve certain Caſes of Conſcience, which may direct their thoughts towards better ſubjects then hitherto many of them have been uſed to think upon.

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By which means their underſtandings will happily get occaſion to cool their ſpirits, ſomewhat too hot about needleſſe diſputes, when they ſhall be led fairly without prejudice to the conſideration of ſome few infallible principles, from which the determination of truths fundamentall, and matters neceſſary to be known and practiced unto ſalvation, may be deducted without great difficultie, and conſequently all ſchiſmaticall differences compoſed. Then afterward, when the declarations of the Reformed Churches tending to clear themſelves from damnable errours and hereſie are brought unto perfection, they muſt be offered unto the ſame Lutheran Divines that did give up their exceptions againſt the ſaid Churches, with a demand that if any thing neceſſary for ſalvation be yet doubtfull, or not ſufficiently explained in theſe declarations, that they would be pleaſed to make it known, that a further expoſition of their mind may be procured in things ſtill doubtfull. If then any further doubts be alledged, and new exceptions made againſt any poſitions contained in the foreſaid declarations, two things may be done; Firſt, the poſitions may be further explained to give them ſatisfaction unto rational doubts for clearing of the truth: Secondly, the matter it ſelf whereof the doubt is made may be conſidered, whether or no it be of that importance that men muſt needs agree about it, and in caſe they cannot agree, whether or no they ought for ſuch a difference of opinion to break off all reſpect of Chriſtian communion and brotherly affections one towards another. Here then the buſineſſe of fundamentall

mentall and not fundamentall truths will come in agitation, which will be the onely means to reſolve finally all matters of ſtrife. And therefore whiles ſome are a work to clear the Reformed Churches from ſuch imputation whereof they are injuriouſly charged, ſome others muſt take the task of thinking upon truths and duties which are unto ſalvation fundamentall or not fundamentall. And thus the Lutheran pretext of ſchiſme, whereby damnable hereſie is laid to the charge of Reformed Proteſtants, may be fully and invincibly taken out of the way, if means be not wanting to uphold an Agent to ſtirre in theſe matters, and if no other difficulties ſeeming to be inſuperable be left in the way, of which now we are to ſpeak in the laſt place of all.

Concerning the difficulties incident unto this work, how they may be overcome.

THe difficulties which may befall to theſe proceedings are ſo many, and ſometimes ſo great, that it is neither well poſsible to relate them all in particular, nor good wiſdome to ſet them forth in all their worſt circumſtances: Therefore I will contract them to a few heads, and ſhew the fundamentall wayes by which they may be overcome. The heads of all difficulties may be reduced to three kinds: for ſome have relation to the perſon that is to go about the work, ſome relate thoſe with whom he is to deal, and ſome regard the matter and manner of the work it ſelf which is to be proſecuted. The difficulties which fall out in regard of him that is to go about the work are theſe, Firſt, ſeeing the work ſeemeth

to be a new busineſſe as taken in hand by a way not formerly traced; therefore he that undertaketh it muſt expect to be differently ſpoken and thought of amongſt men: Then alſo ſeeing the work in it ſelf is both exceeding great and difficult, it followeth, that if a man purpoſed to do good in it, he muſt needs dedicate himſelf wholly to it, and leave the care of all other things for it, which is no ſmall task: Thirdly, he ought to ſee a poſſibility of the effect, or elſe he muſt deſpair and never undertake it. Now to ſee a poſſibility of this effect, he muſt have a ſight of ſome ſufficiency of means to reach it: and that ſufficiency muſt either be in himſelf or in others. Now what if he dare not find in himſelf any ſuch ſufficiency? for who is ſo preſumptuous as to ſay more then the Apoſtle durſt of himſelf, *And who is ſufficient for theſe things?* But if no man dare think of himſelf that he is ſufficiently fitted to go about a work of ſo great conſequence, what willingneſſe can he have to undertake it? If no willingneſſe to undertake it, what inward calling can he have to go about it? If no calling to go about it, how is it warrantable for him to follow it, and to leave all other callings for it? This I confeſſe is a hard knot, but yet it is made much harder when other circumſtances come to it, as thus, What if he find as little ſufficiency in others towards this effect as in himſelf? what if he find leaſt willingneſſe in moſt of them? Nay, what if he find in thoſe that are eſteemed moſt ſufficient very little apparent and how concurrence to help in it? This is yet harder, but if above all this according to all humane appearance he cannot but rationally

rationally conjecture that he muſt loſe his labour and be eſteemed a fool for his pains; what if he findeth after ſome triall of the work when he profiteth little, that he is like to be deſerted of ſuch as were ready formerly to help him? what if he muſt needs (as being indifferent and free from ſiding with any party) make himſelf to all parties an object of their jealouſies, and of ſtrange ſurmiſes to moſt men, and conſequently become liable to obloquies, cenſures, injuries, hatred, and malice, &c. without having any friend to ſtand up for him? and above all this, what if he is like to have no outward means to ſubſiſt by any more or favourable Patrones to bear him out in his innocent and harmleſſe endeavours? what, I ſay, if all theſe things ſhould concurre together, as now in this caſe they ſeem in ſome ſort to grow unto this height, and in all humane appearance will fall hereafter more heavily upon theſe proceedings? Chiefly, if the Agent thereof continueth thus to walk as it were in a cloud, and to follow his own indifferent and undependent wayes, to proſecute theſe intentions further to a full period; I ſay again, what if all theſe difficulties come at once upon him, what muſt he do? ſhould he not give over? what warrant hath he to proceed or hope to conquer theſe difficulties? Here I confeſſe that when I conſider my preſent eſtate, I have ſcarce nothing to ſupport my ſpirit but a clear teſtimony of my conſcience, which beareth witneſſe unto me that I am come to this work neither through preſumption of any ſufficiency in my ſelf, as if I could effect ſuch a work, nor for any ſingularity and new-fangled fancies, nor for any worldly

ly ends, private reſpects or hopes towards men, but merely by a ſimple honeſt meaning to make once a triall what good might be done by this way of unpartiall ſolicitation for councels of Peace, in this buſineſſe which is every way ſo lawfull in it ſelf, ſo laudable before God, and ſo requiſite in theſe times for the advancement of the Goſpel. Neither did I want a ſufficient, expreſſe, lawfull and particular calling to undertake that which at firſt I did undertake; neither do I yet want a calling and warrant to go about that which now I aim at, but I find rather that my calling, being at firſt lawfull, hath ſince continually increaſed upon me till now it is come to this height, that although I find my ſelf invironed with many ſtraits, and by reaſon of the generality of my way like to be deſerted of every body, yet I cannot poſſibly without wounding extremely my conſcience, in breaking a moſt ſolemn vow made with due preparation religiouſly unto Almighty God, go back from this intention. Thus then it is with me, I am inwardly without fear, and though outwardly I ſee no help nor likelihood of great aſſiſtance from men, but rather on all ſides difficulties & want of all comfort, yet I cannot be without hope of a good iſſue, ſo that I may really ſay in this caſe (without compariſon nevertheleſſe to him that ſaid it once before me) *O Lord, thou haſt deceived me, & I am deceived: thou art ſtronger then I, and thou haſt prevailed: I am in deriſion daily, every one mocketh me. For ſince I ſpake, I cryed out of wrong, and proclaimed deſolation. Therefore the word of the Lord was made a reproch unto me, and I am in deriſion dayly. Then I ſaid, I will not make men-*

Jerem. 20. 7, 8, 9.

mention of him, nor ſpeak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not ſtay. For I heard the rayling of many, and fear on every ſide. For thus indeed it is with me; I can perceive nothing in the ſpirits of moſt men, but railings, diſcontents, clamours and fears. To remedy theſe evils in a ſpirituall way within the compaſſe of mine own calling amongſt Eccleſiaſticall perſons, I am inſenſibly drawn on ſo farre, and ſo deeply engaged in this work, that I cannot now go backward any more. But whatſoever may become of me or befall unto me, I am once for all reſolved to undergo it. Therefore I find an eaſie remedy to all theſe difficulties, which is this, That ſeeing I am called lawfully to this negotiation, and that I truſt not to my ſelf, but unto God who is able to do with me above all that I can think or hope; therefore I am reſolved to live no more in this work unto my ſelf, but unto him that hath ſet me upon it, and whom I onely reſpect in it. And if I can but keep and follow this reſolution, I know that for truſting to him and labouring to do good to all, as yet never man was, ſo I ſhall never be aſhamed. The difficulties incident in regard of thoſe with whom the work muſt be proſecuted ariſe from their multitude, and from their different and ſtrange diſpoſitions: Firſt then, it is a difficult thing to deal both with Churches and Statesmen in one and the ſame work, and yet more difficult to deal with many of both ſorts in ſo many Churches and States as this buſineſſe may concern. I anſwer, True, it is difficult to do this, yet not impoſſi-

ble; for by diligence, by conſtancie, by good addreſſe and unpartiall dealing with choice and leading men of every ſort and in every Church, this difficulty may be overcome: For it is not convenient that all ſhould be promiſcuouſly dealt withall and in particular, but two or three in every Church being pickt out will be ſufficient at firſt, till matters grow ripe, and then to compendiate the work, occaſions of publick meetings may be taken hold of, to acquaint the multitude with generalities fit for their knowledge; from which afterward references muſt be obtained to ſome few again, that in weighty matters neceſſary particulars may be diſtinctly ſcanned, which in a great multitude cannot be done at all, or not without great confuſion. The ſecond difficulty is, That many men will have many minds, many particular opinions many different aims and prejudites, ſo that it will hardly be poſſible to fit any one courſe or purpoſe, any one counſel that will pleaſe them all; and therefore it will be either labour loſt, or elſe an occaſion of more ſtrife and diviſion, to put them all upon one ſubject of meditation. To this I anſwer, That it is true; if they ſhould all at once be put upon the buſineſſe without due preparation, theſe effects would needs follow, but now they are dealt withall ſeverally and in ſome good order. Alſo fit preparations are to be uſed towards every one, for if nothing be offenſively objected, indiſcreetly preſcribed & urged upon any of them, but onely occaſion given to every one by way of fit inſinuations of undeniable principles to do his duty, and in diſcharging his conſcience to give ſome good counſel towards

towards the ſcope of peace anſwerably and proportionally unto the foreconceived principles, then there can no ſuch inconvenience ariſe; but rather from many different opinions, when all are tending to one ſcope, and riſing from the ſame generall grounds, the common courſe unto which all do agree, or the ſafeſt way which will diſpleaſe none may be gathered and afterward propoſed to be ratified by common conſent. The third difficulty is, that ſeeing not onely the Lutheran and Reformed Churches differ one from another, but alſo in each of thoſe again are found many ſubdiviſions and factions, which are almoſt at as great ods one with another about their private differences as all of them are about the generall matters, it is a great doubt if it be poſſible either to bring men that cannot agree amongſt themſelves to agree with others, or to bring them before they are agreed amongſt themſelves to reſolve upon a common courſe to deal with others for any agreement. For this difficulty there is no other remedy but that every ſide muſt be dealt withall apart and without partiality, and ſuch propoſitions muſt be made, which retrench no further upon their private debates, then to inſinuate and to involve ſome infallible grounds, whereby the true cauſes as well of thoſe particular differences as of all other controverſies may be taken out of the way. For the ſame propertie and nature of ſtrife being in the particular which is in the generall diviſion of mens minds, it is manifeſt that whatſoever is fit to remedy the one, will do good alſo unto the other. The fourth objection is, But ſtill every party will look

look to his own private intereſt and ſway all adviſes to his own ends, for every one will be loth to loſe any grounds by theſe treaties: from whence it will come to paſſe that while the treatie ſtandeth in generalities, all will be liable to jealouſies, diffidencies and ſuſpicions; and when particulars come to be ſcanned, the controverſies will be renewed as hot as ever, and more inconvenients ariſe perhaps then before. To remedie this evil a poſitive way of proceeding, (that is, ſuch a way by which every one ſhall declare poſitively his own meaning and not meddle with the meanings of others) muſt be agreed upon and ſo fitted to the work, that by it the negotiatours may be able to prevent all particular diſputes, and clear intricate and doubtfull matters, by the means of generall and undoubted axiomes of truth, which may be laid and admitted before ever the ſeverall treaties come to be ſcanned. Then alſo a particular rule and limitation of the treaty, as well in reſpect of the extent thereof, as in reſpect of the outward manner of going about it, could be ſet down, ſo that none ſhould be able to except againſt it. By which means the cauſes of jealouſies in the generall, and the danger of hot ſtrife in the particular treaties might be taken out of the way. Laſtly, if all parties be brought to think upon fundamentall truths and duties, that is to ſay, to ſhew not ſo much what is in this or that point truth and errour, as to ſhew from the generall undoubted ground what is a truth neceſſary to be known by every body unto ſalvation, and what is a damnable errour, then there will be none occaſion either of jealouſies in the generall treaties,

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or of ſtrife in the particular poſitions, becauſe it will be granted before-hand that no truth or errour ſhould give occaſion of diviſion and earneſtneſſe in debate, but ſuch as are within the compaſſe of matters neceſſary to be known unto ſalvation.

Other difficulties might be alledged in this kind, but it is not expedient to inſiſt too much upon ſuch matters: therefore I will come to the laſt ſort of lets which do ariſe from the work it ſelf in reſpect of the matter and manner of proceeding in it. If we look unto the matter it is very weighty and of marvellous great conſequence, for it doth concern the eſtate of religion, the truth of God, and the ſouls of men, for the directions of their underſtandings and ſettling of their wills in matters of conſcience, whereof every man is bound to have a ſpeciall care: therefore it is naturall to all men not to endure any ſudden reformation or change therein, becauſe tacitly he is thereby reproved and convicted as if hitherto he had not been in the right way of ſalvation, which is a great trouble unto the ſpirits of men that are zealous for means of eternall life, and a matter that cannot be digeſted by any but ſuch as have no true ſenſe of religion. From hence then it followeth, that it will be a matter of extreme difficultie to meddle in this buſineſſe, becauſe it toucheth the very apple of a mans ſpiritual eie, wherein the leaſt diſturbance of the world is not onely perceptible but alſo intolerable; becauſe it doth endanger him to loſe his whole ſight, that is to ſay, to loſe all ſenſe & certaintie of religion, and all care of conſcience if he be once unſettled and troubled in the profeſſion of that

which he hath hitherto maintained. To remedy this inconvenience and all the dangerous conſequences following thereupon, prevention muſt be uſed towards the underſtandings and wills of men that are weak, and make them ſenſible of the true ſcope which is intended, and of the means to be uſed in this work. The ſcope then to be really intended and whereof others are to be made ſenſible muſt not be to condemn, to ſtagger, or to overthrow any; but rather directly to ſtrengthen, to confirm, and to build up all the truths known and once received, that by the increaſe of light in theoreticall and practicall truths which are of chief moment the falſe zeal and giddineſſe of mens minds about private opinions about doubtfull and diſputable matters (which commonly are of no great conſequence unto ſalvation, but rather proceed from curioſity and ſelf-conceited imaginations) may fall of themſelves unto the ground; which will fall out when once invincibly truths will ſway the conſciences and wills of men to look more after matters of preſent edification in the knowledge and duties of godlineſſe and mutuall love, then after high and ſublime myſteries, whereby men are not onely involved into a labyrinth of doubts and ſcruples which breed improfitable Queſtions, but alſo withdrawn in their underſtandings from the onely true, comfortable, and laudable object of meditation.

Thus then if the real purpoſe of the work be to lead the minds of men unto ſuch objects of knowledge, whereby infallibly comforts may ariſe unto their ſouls, and if means fit to effect this be made uſe of, it

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is evident that all the difficulties and fears of other things will be ſwallowed up and drowned in the life of godly affections, which will enlighten and ſettle the ſoul in the way of peace and righteouſneſſe towards God and man. By which means without all occaſions of diſpute, without all danger of apparent change, and without all occaſions of outward condemnations and fear of inward troubles and perplexities to the conſcience, men will be enabled and addicted to judge themſelves, and ſo by little & little to rectifie their own wayes from all circumſtances of ſcandall, and from evil inclinations, which through diſorderly affections and untoward actions have bred all theſe diviſions. Now the means by which this purpoſe may be brought to paſſe, as well towards the underſtandings as towards the wills of conſcionable men, whether they be learned or unlearned Statesmen or Divines of this or that ſide, are no wayes difficult, but eaſie to be ſet a work, if the matter it ſelf, and the ſpirituall way of proceeding therein, neceſſary to work upon the ſpirits of men, be not either ſtopped for want of correſpondencie and a few conſtant Agents, or outwardly diſcountenanced by Authoritie in reſpect of worldly jealouſies, or deſerted for want of neceſſary ſupport and maintenance towards the work, and towards an Agent or two to ſubſiſt in going about it. For it can eaſily be demonſtrated how all manner of difficulties ariſing from the matter and ſubject of the work, whether they concern the underſtanding or the wils and affections of men, may be either prevented or taken away in due time by ſpirituall means and proceedings an-

ſwerable to the main grounds of Chriſtianity and conſcience, of which now we cannot ſpeak at large. The laſt and greateſt difficulty will be found in the manner of treating and ratifying that which may be concluded and agreed upon. Here then two things are wholly neceſſary: Firſt, The way of giving ſatisfaction to mens conſciences muſt be found out and made uſe of: Secondly, The reſpect which is due unto publick authority muſt not be neglected. Theſe things are wholly neceſſary, but how to apply them fitly to the circumſtances of the work, is a matter of no ſmall difficulty; becauſe in the firſt, the method of School-Divinity on the one ſide, and the ſpirit of private interpretation on the other ſide, hath ſpoiled the wayes of true knowledge. And in the ſecond, publick authority may be in certain matters and caſes regarded otherwiſe then it ought to be, ſo that the work every way will be marred if the true midſt of all theſe extremes be not obſerved. For both high and low, learned and unlearned may be all at once offended, if the demonſtrative rules both of truth and righteouſneſſe be not ſo exactly applyed unto the proceedings of the work, that every one may find therein his own due, and receive ſatisfaction. Now to do this, before ever the treatie be ſet upon, the ſpirits of men muſt be tryed afarre off and diſcovered in theſe things: Firſt, What principles and wayes of knowledge they have taken up: Secondly, How farre they are prepoſſeſſed, ſettled and exerciſed therein: Thirdly, How flexible their nature and large their capacitie is to apprehend things more univerſall: Fourthly, How farre they regard

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or regard not the authoritie of Superiours in matters of Religion. When theſe things are diſcovered, the manner of dealing with them according to their own principles, the meaſure of their capacitie, and the reſpect which they carry unto publick authoritie muſt be thought upon and made uſe of, to fit their minds and affections unto the ſcope of theſe treaties, that firſt their minds by inſenſible degrees of unfallible truths, no wayes repugnant to their received principles (though ſomewhat perhaps different from the ſame) may be perfected, and advanced to a way of knowledge more univerſall and conſequently more peaceable then that is wherein they have been formerly excerciſed, and ſecondly, that their affections from the grounds of neceſſary reſpects due to ſuch as are in place of lawfull authoritie may conſcionably be raiſed up to yield willingly obedience unto ſuch conſtitutions as may fall out to be requiſite about the work. When theſe preparatives are wrought upon their underſtandings and wills, it will eaſily appear what manner of treaties muſt be undertaken to ſatisfie the minds of men in reſpect of doubts concerning faith, and how for matters of practice the reſpect of publick authoritie, and in what things it may eaſily be made uſe of towards them. For it is manifeſt by the experience of all ages, that many things (though never ſo lawfull and rationall) cannot be caried by mere authority, chiefly among men that think themſelves not unable to judge, and obliged to know the grounds of ſuch things as do retrench upon Religion, and ſeem to bind their conſcience. Therefore a great deal of circumſpection

and tenderneſſe muſt be uſed both wayes, I mean as well to prevent the troubling of mens conſciences that are conſcionable, as to expoſe authoritie to be cenſured in mens ſecret thoughts. For if either the conſciences of men be troubled, for want of ſufficient light, in that which they are bound by reaſon of authoritie to give way unto; or elſe if the reſpect which is due unto authoritie, in ſuch things which it ought to advance and proſecute, decay in the hearts of men; becauſe weak conſciences receive no ſatisfaction in matters whereat they ſtagger as proceeding from mere authoritie, then the foundation both of State and Religion are ſhaken. For the foundation of Religion in the ſouls of men is nothing elſe but the reſpect which men have unto their conſciences under Chriſts ordinances: and the foundation of State in the hearts of men is nothing elſe but the reſpect which inferiours bear unto their ſuperiours unto a lawfull government. And to avoid the ſhaking of either of theſe reſpects, in managing of weighty buſineſſes all diligence and prudence muſt be uſed in every particular degree and action of their proceedings, that every one may have ſufficient light and ſatisfaction concerning the nature and properties of the ſame. So then, to proceed in matters of truth to reconcile the underſtandings of men, it is apparent that neither School-Divinity nor the private ſpirit of any particular man will ſatisfie all men, and give ſufficient light to know the way of truth, becauſe as ſcholaſticall methods are onely fit for ſcholars of that kind, and not for men of other reading and capacity, ſo alſo the ſpirit of one interpreter of Scriptures



ptures can be no rule to another, who hath as much right to rely upon his own conception as the former doth upon his: therefore a more univerſall way then either of theſe to declare truths and clear doubts muſt be made uſe of, againſt which no man ſhall be able to make any exception. And to this effect, (I mean leſt any exception be made againſt it) before the way be made uſe of and applyed unto the work, it muſt be propoſed, examined, allowed, and received by all thoſe that are to treat or to be treated withall in this ſubject, that no body may have occaſion, for want of light fitted to his capacity, to ſtagger at the proceedings, or fear and doubt at the truth of ſuch determinations as may be ſettled to reconcile mens judgements in points of religion. Now of this way whereby intellectuall doubts may be cleared I am not at this time to ſpeak at large, becauſe my purpoſe is onely now to intimate in generall terms that no difficulties can be incident unto the work, which may not be overcome by a convenient remedy, if it pleaſe God to ſuffer us to proceed. Seeing then a complete way of advancing ſpirituall knowledge can be intended without danger ariſing from School-divinity, and private ſpirituall interpretations, care muſt alſo be taken on the other ſide not to neglect the reſpect which is due unto authority in all theſe proceedings, and yet not to make any ſuch uſe of it as may endanger it to be cenſured by any. It is not my purpoſe to ſpeak of the power of ſuperiours in this work, and of the things belonging unto their charge; I will not preſume to meddle with ſuch high matters, but I mind onely thoſe reſpects which ought

ought to be caried to all Superiours whereſoever this work may be agitated, and which muſt be conſerved in the minds of all them with whom it is to be agitated, to the end that publick authority, which is the chief inſtrument of all univerſall affairs, and the image of Gods power eminently apparent in this world, may not be without uſe in ſuch things for which it hath been communicated unto mankind. I conceive then that all authority and ſuperiority is appointed by God, and that by it all affairs ſhould be directed unto the publick good of a Communaltie: Superiours then are directours of all affairs that concern a ſociety or a publick State: They are like eyes which addreſſe not onely the whole body of a man unto the way wherein he doth walk, but alſo his members every one each to his ſeverall object for the well-being of the whole: from hence then it muſt be inferred, that as the eye ought to ſee all things and diſcern the ſame, ſo nothing may be concealed from the knowledge of Superiours in this buſineſſe, that when they are informed thereof, either permiſſion or commiſſion may be had from them to proceed in it as occaſion ſhall require. Now as a man hath two eyes in his outward body, a right one and a left one; ſo he hath two directing faculties in his ſoul, to rule his life outwardly towards men, and inwardly towards God, which are Reaſon and Conſcience: Conſcience is the right eye of a mans ſoul, and Reaſon is the left. To theſe two are anſwerable two ſorts of directours in publick affairs which concern the ſociety of men: For ſeeing men are joyned both by ſpirituall and worldly

ly bonds of ſociety for the well-being both of their ſouls and bodies, God hath appointed eyes and directours over them in both theſe Common-wealths to ſerve the publick good thereof: The civil Magiſtrate doth ſerve the Common-wealth by the eye of Reaſon, and the directours of Eccleſiaſticall affairs by the eye of Conſcience. Therfore in all outward, publick and viſible circumſtances of this work, the ſame reſpect muſt be had and deferred by thoſe that agitate in it unto the Rulers of the civill State, which wiſe men in their outward bodily actions uſe to yield unto their own naturall ſenſes and reaſon: And in like manner as a religious man doth reflect upon his conſcience in all the circumſtances of his ſpirituall performances, even ſo in this buſineſſe the Leaders of Eccleſiaſticall affairs muſt be regarded in all ſpirituall means whereby it is to be advanced. Theſe then are Rules by which the reſpects due unto Superiours in this work may be obſerved; each Superiour muſt have his due in a joint and ſeverall reſpect. For as reaſon and conſcience, as the right and left eye of a man, concurre together in the apprehenſion and conſideration of matters, becauſe all that which is reaſonable is anſwerable to conſcience, and again all that which is conſcionable cannot be but reaſonable; even ſo the civill and Eccleſiaſticall Directours muſt both at once concurre and be regarded in the work, yet every one muſt be taken notice of according to his own ſphere, in his own way, according to his own principles, objects and ends for which this matter ſhould be intended. Thus then this difficulty alſo may be overcome, and by it alſo the impediments

of the work: for if the Directours of the buſineſſe be once truely gained, it is likely that their wiſdome and authoritie will cary all clear before them. And the means to gain them is chiefly a care to bear them all due reſpect: For it is hopefully to be ſuppoſed that God will move them to take ſo laudable a work to heart, if things be duly prepared to their hands, and none of them that is able to give aſſiſtance in it be neglected.

FINIS.



14.

REFORMATION
SURE
AND STEDFAST;
OR,
A SEASONABLE
Sermon for the preſent times.

SHEVVING
THE LIFE AND DEATH OF
REFORMATION.

PROV. 15.23.
A word ſpoken in due ſeaſon how good it is.

Preached June 15. 1641.

Publiſhed by order from a Committee of the Honourable House of Commons.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. D.* for *Henry Overton*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the entrance into Popes-head Alley out of Lumbard ſtreet. 1641.

REFORMATION

SURE

AND STEDFAST

A SERMON

SERVING

THE LIFE AND DEATH

Printed by [illegible]
Solde at his shop at the entrance into Popes-
head Alley out of Lumbard
Street.

To the Reader.

GOd hath layd the foundation among us long agoe, and God be thanked we have held it hitherto, though with much adoe, and some hazard, for Pioners both within us and without us have beene digging at it, but could never undermine it, to blow it up (for thereby wee have beene comely though blacke) and therefore they have gone another way to worke, and built upon it: to wit; wood, hay, ſtubble, ſo that though the power of godlineſſe hath preſerved us, yet this combuſtible matter hath kindled ſuch fires amongſt us, as have almoſt ruined us. For it's dangerous to ſeparate what God hath joyned together, though Power may give us a ſubſiſtence, yet never a bene eſſe without Purity, to which wee now hope wee draw neere by the marriage of theſe two together amongſt us, but then they muſt have theſe properties of marriage, they muſt not only joyne hands but hearts, and that for ever for Cordiall unanimity, and conſtant perpetuity, make up ſuch a Reformation, as only will make us.

But I will not prevent the Sermon by preaching it in the Epistle, only borrow so much, as may shew how needfull it is for Ministers, to joyne with Magistrates, and to imploy the Word, as they the Sword this way, that so it may not bee done by halves, but throughly, and that not only in Action, but affection, For God sayes, give me thy heart, which is the summe, and substance of this Sermon, and that it may bee the practice of us all, so prayes.

Thine in the Lord,

T. F.

REFOR-

REFORMATION

Sure and ſtedfaſt, or a ſeaſonable Sermon for the preſent times, &c.

ZEPHANIAH 1.1.

The word of the Lord which came unto Zephaniah the ſonne of Cuſhi, the ſonne of Gedaliah, the ſonne of Amariah, the ſonne of Hizkiah, in the dayes of Ioſiah the ſonne of Amon King of Judah.

THree things there are expreſt in the Text, and a fourth implyed. Firſt, The authority of the Prophet. Secondly, The Prophets qualitie. Thirdly, The time of his Prophecy, and fourthly, The Argument, or ſubſtance of it; which is the thing implyed in the Prophets text, and fully opened in his Sermons.

1. The authority: *The word of the Lord.* And therefore you are to take notice, I am not now opening to you mens opinions, or reading a Lecture to you out of a Philoſopher, or an Hiſtorian, which you may like where you will,

and leave where you list, heare, or beleeve *ad libitum*; But the word of the Lord, who must be beleeved, when he speakes most above our apprehensions, or crossest to our present wills, and affections.

2. The Quality of the Prophet; *Which came unto Zephaniah the sonne of Cushie, &c.* His Father and Grandfather, and great Grandfather and great great Grandfather are named: Whence it appeares, that *Zephaniah* was a man of an honourable House, because his Ancestors are mentioned to the fourth generation *. And hence wee see, that Almighty God hath made use of men of all degrees, to bee Ministers of his Word. *Isaiah* came of the bloud Royall; *Jeremiah*, of the stocke of *Aaron*; *Daniel* and *Zephaniah*, of honourable Families. *Amos*, a heardman; *Elisha*, a husbandman; and other Prophets, as *Malachi*, *Obadiah*, *Haggai*, and *Habakkuk*, whose naked names wee have without their Pedegrees. And thus we see, that as the Lord doth send his Word to all sorts of men, so he sends it by all sorts of men. And hereby the most true God does the more cleare his Word from jelousie, and suspition. Here also wee see, it is calling honourable enough, for men that are most honourable by birth, to bee Ministers of Gods Word. As *Zephaniah* a Noble man by birth, was not undervalued, but advanced by his calling to be the Lords Minister: A Ministers Calling is honour enough to him without other accumulations.

* Besides, the names of his Ancestours tell him to be honourable.

3. The

3. The time of his propheſying: *In the dayes of Joſiah King of Judah:* and therefore one of the laſt Prophets before the Captivity, and a Contemporarie with *Jeremiah.*

4. For the ſubſtance, and ſubject of his propheſy, we ſhall find; It is compoſed of very reproving, and very threatning Sermons: partly indeed againſt ſome others, but principally againſt *Judah.*

I, but what ſhould ſuch a Prophet, a reproving Prophet, a threatning Prophet doe in *Joſiah's* time, a time of great reformation, and a very reforming Prince? *Queſt.*

I anſwer, that though *Joſiah* himſelfe had a right ſpirit in way of Reformation, yet the ſpirits of the greateſt part of the Nobles of *Judah*, and alſo of the Commons, inclined to their old ſuperſtitions in worſhip, and corruptions in government. The Idolatrous wayes of their former corrupt Princes, were ſtill in their hearts; And however the King was ſound, yet the greateſt part of the Subjects, both Rulers, and People, were rotten-hearted towards *Joſiah's* Reformation. Which appeares both by ſome expreſſe places of Scripture, and by good conſequence from other. *Anſw.*

In the 2 *King.* 22. 17. and 2 *Chro.* 34. 25. It was abſolutely charged, upon the Inhabitants of *Judah*, that they burnt Incenſe to other Gods; which charge was in *Joſiah's* time: So that notwithſtanding the religious reformation, hee had endeavoured amongſt them, yet they had

had their old haunts of superstition, and therefore then censured, as well as charged.

If it be put to Case, and objected, that this charge might have relation to *Iudah*'s Idolatrie, in *Manasse*'s time, as might seeme from that passage in 2 *King.* 23. 26. Let this Question be put upon this Objection: Why should such a difference be made, in that charge, and censure, betwixt *Iosiah*, and his people, saving that he was sound, and they still corrupt? I confesse it hath reference to *Manasse*'s time; yet not only thither: for its plaine to *Iosiah*'s also. And this will be without scruple, upon the view of some passages in the Prophet, *Ier.* 3. 6. and 10. The Lord also said unto me, saith *Jeremiah*, in the dayes of *Iosiah* the King. *Iudah* hath not turned unto me with her whole heart, but feignedly, or in falshood, saith the Lord. Though the King, and happily some few of his Nobles, and People were very Cordiall in reformation, yet the major part both of Nobles and Commons, had reformed faces, but not reformed hearts.

Again, by consequence it is cleare. For whereas *Iosiah*, though young, was upright-hearted himselfe, and likewise towards the reformation of his Kingdome; Why yet it seemes, it was the twelfth yeare of his Raigne, before he could get the Kingdome in any readinesse to a Reformation. So it is recorded in 2 *Chro.* 34. 3. That in the twelfth yeare of his Raigne, he began to purge *Iudah* and *Ierusalem* from the high places, and the Groves, *&c.*

Againe,

Againe, after he ſet upon Reformation, wee find it was ſix yeares, before he had purged the Land, and the Temple, which was but a part of his Reformation intended: for the repaires of the Temple were ſtill behind, *verſ.* 8. And what ſhould be the Reaſon, that he ſhould be twelve yeares before hee began to reforme, being ſo pure a Prince, and ſix yeares in one part of Reformation, the caſting out of Corruptions? But becauſe he found it a mighty difficult matter, to new mold the People from old wayes, and to take the generality of them off from their wonted ſuperſtitious cuſtomes.

It is obſervable againe, that when the People were brought to an outward Conformity, to the Reformation, yet their hearts ſtill hankered another way, and ſo much as they durſt, for the Lawes, the Reformation had eſtabliſhed, they declared their idolatrous ſpirits: as in that 3. *Jer.* 10. *Judah hath not turned to me with her whole heart, but feignedly.*

And we are moreover to marke, that after their outward Conformitie to Reformation, came the threatning of their Captivity. Compare the 8. and 25. Verſe, of the 34. Chap. 2 *Chro.*

There is ſtill another thing more notable for the caſe in hand, which is this; When upon the Lords threatning *Judah*, for the ſuperſtitious bent, and byas of their ſpirits ſtill; *Joſiah* to the end he might make them as ſure as he could for God gathers them together, to enter into a ſure

Covenant with the Lord, to serve him only, and to worship him truly; It is observable that the king was forced, to force them to stand to the Covenant, that he himselfe had entred into. *Verses* 32.33. They did not willingly, and freely enter into the Covenant with the King, but it's said, *Iosiah* caused, and made all that were present, or that were found in *Ierusalem*, and *Benjamin* to stand to it. Againe, neither did they keepe this Covenant any longer then *Iosiah*'s life, as the last words of the Chapter, and the Peoples practice in the beginning of the next King doe manifest.

Now if the commendations of the Passeover in *Iosiah*'s life, and the great lamentation of the People at *Iosiah*'s death, should bee an Argument to any for the integritie of *Iudah* in *Iosiah*'s time; They must needs in serious, and seconded thoughts, apprehend the carriage of the people in the generality, but a Ceremony, and no substantiall point of their soundnesse.

Therefore upon all this that hath beene said, I say in Answer to the Question; That there was a necessitie of this sharpe, and threatning Prophecy, even in *Iosiah*'s time, though a time of Reformation: howbeit, not in respect of Prince, yet of People for the major part. And then this is the first Doctrine.

Doct. 1. That though the Prince, and some Rulers of a Nation, be strict Reformers in Religion, yet if the People generally continue corrupt, the Nation is still in much danger. As we may take notice

notice of it in Gods angry words against *Iudah*, in *Iosiah*'s time, the pureſt of Reformers before the Captivity; So alſo, as clearly in the pure reformations after the Captivity, by the confeſſions, of the Reformers themſelves: Witneſſe *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* their ſolemne Faſts, to prevent ſad things, which they feared might befall their Nation, through the peoples corruption, *Ezra* 9. and *Nehem.* 9.

Now when I ſay, when the people are corrupt in Religion, I meane not their open profeſſion, or confeſſed practice of ſuperſtitions, and croſſe-wayes, to the purity of Religion: But even then, when the people have out-ſides to Reformation, yet ſtill hearts and inſides to corruption. For this was the caſe of the *Iewes* in *Iosiah*'s time. As the pureſt Elements now are ſo impure as ſubject to change in part into contrary Elements; ſuch was the temper of theſe Jewes, that as they went to *Zoar*, their faces were towards *Sodom*.

And the danger of ſuch a Nation, that hath ſuch a people appeares in this; Becauſe ſuch a People, though they may bee conformers, to godly reformation for the preſent, yet for preſent it's againſt their wills to be for God, and ſo ſoone as ever they have opportunity, they will be for *Baal*. Juſt as your men that ſtay at ſhore till wind ſerve, they keepe upon the Land, becauſe they cannot get upon the Sea, but ſo ſoone as the winds turne to their opportunity, fare well Land. *Reaſ.*

Thus we may conceive it was in that happy Reformation of King *Edw.6.* though unhappy in respect of his surviving Subjects. Who in reason would have thought, that, that Reformation should have had such a Metamorphosis, and that so suddenly; yet the issue gave in evidence that the generality were but meere Formalists in that reformation, and did but waite for a wind, to carry them to *Rome* againe.

And as this hath beene the issue of the People, so *Vice versa*; Sometimes with the Prince: as in *Joash* King of *Judah*, a good King not from inward principles, but from outward motives; Hee made true Religion the fashion whilst *Jehojada* lived: For all the dayes of *Jehojada* it's said, he walked in the godly paths of his godly Predecessors, and maintained the reformation, made after *Athalia* deposed, and hee crowned, 2 *King.*11.

But so soone as *Jehojada* was in his grave, the Princes of *Judah* came, and made obeisance to the King, and with flattering speeches motioned to the King, the renewing of Baalitish worship, and he hearkened unto them, 2 *Chro.* 24.17.

Vse. To make Application of the point for our owne particular use. And hence wee gather that there is as great necessitie to pray, and endevour, that the hearts of the People of the Land, may bee prepared for Reformation, as that the Lord would prepare Reformers: That

Prince,

Prince, and Peoples ſpirits, may move in the ſame orbe in this point, and that the people may not be carryed on in Reformation, as the Sunne, and ſtarres are by the *Primum mobile*, have a violent motion from it, and another naturall motion of their owne, quite contrary. For certainly though the people of the Land move after the motion of ſuperiour Orbes, King, and Rulers that doe reforme, yet keepe another croſſe inclination, and motion of their owne, ſurely, I ſay, our hopes at moſt, can be but for an Age, even the lives of Reformers, and ſo ſoone as a *Joſiah* is gone, ſo will his Reformation too.

It's true, for the age of Reformers, the Scriptures warrant us, Truth and Peace in their dayes; Nay, and according to Scripture evidence, an externall complying of the people with Reformation, is a *Superſedeas* to the Land from Nationall judgements. We find in *Joſiah* a Reformer, he muſt goe to his grave in peace, and his people muſt bee ſecure till then too. And ſo there muſt be peace and truth, all *Hezekiah's* raigne, being a reformer of Religion, though we find many heavy propheſies againſt *Judah*, even in *Hezekiah's* time, as wee ſee in the Prophets, *Iſaiah*, *Hoſea*, and *Micah*. And ſo *Jehoſhaphat*, a maintainer of his fathers Reformation, and ſomething a mender of it, though indeed once he was affrighted with a great Armie, yet ſaith the Scripture, The Realme of *Iehoſhaphat* was quiet, and God gave him, and

his People rest in his Raigne, 2 *Chro.*20.

But then here is usually the *non ultra* of hopes, of happinesse, when the peoples hearts move not in the same Orbe after the Princes in reforming. The Scripture is cleare in president for it: That when in time of Reformation, the peoples spirits are not prepared for puritie in Divine worship, as the Governours are (thus the case was with *Iehoshaphats* people, the hearts of the people were not prepared, to the taking away of the High-places, 2 *Chro.*20.33.) then the Land hath beene secured, and happie but that Age. For wee find that when *Iehoshaphat* slept with his Fathers, even that good Prince, whose peoples hearts were not prepared, as his, for perfect Reformation, the next King, was a King after the corrupt peoples owne hearts: A man that walked in the wayes of the Kings of *Israel*, and house of *Ahab*, 2 *Chro.*21.6.

And what became of the Kingdome then, that was so secure and quiet, whilst *Iehoshaphat* lived? Why, we find there, that first the Edomites, they revolt from the Dominion of *Iudah*, and set up a King of their owne; and *Libna* also revolted from the government of *Iudah*. And the reason of this change in the State, is given in the tenth verse of the Chapter: Because *Iehoram* had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers, *Iehoshaphat* and *Asa*, both Reformers of Church and State.

It's true, we find in Scripture, that *Asa*'s Reformation continued not only his, but his successours

ceſſours time; But then wee find with all in Scripture, that there is no ſuch thing laid to the peoples charge, as not being prepared for his Reformation. And this I conceive to bee a Reaſon of the ſucceſſion of Queene *Elizabeths* reformation through King *Iames* his Raigne, and our gracious King *Charles*; namely, beſides the Integritie of their Royall ſpirits, the hearts of the people were prepared for that Reformation of Religion. Which appeares to be ſo, in this, That no *Baalam's*; though there have beene many, could yet curſe *England* ſo farre, as to Adulterate a conſiderable part, either of Nobles, or Commons, from the former Reformation; though from perfection in Reformation, we have beene often ſtopped.

Moreover, it's beyond all this obſervable concerning *Hezekiahs* Reformation; That though he was very pure in it, and his peoples hearts prepared for it, 2 *Chro.*29.36. The people were much taken with *Hezekiah's* reformation at firſt, and forwarded it with all expedition; For the worke was done ſuddenly, ſaith the Scripture. Why yet this laſted but *Hezekiah's* life; Truth, and Peace only in his dayes: for after he was gathered to his Fathers, Religion was more corrupted then ever by *Manaſſes* his ſonne, and the Kingdome never in greater ſtraits, and exigents. Now what ſhould be the reaſon of this? That he ſo pure a Reformer, and his peoples hearts ſo prepared for Reformation, yet the Kingdome happy herein, but for his time.

I anſwer, That we ſhall find in the ſearch of Scripture in this caſe, That for all this forwardneſſe of the People in *Hezekiah*'s reformation, yet alas, they were but for a ſpurt, their be ſtat firſt, their courage ſoone cooled this way, and they quickly weary of the life of Religion. For this complaint the Lord made of *Judah*, in the Prophet *Hoſea*: who propheſied in *Hezekiah*'s time againſt *Judah*, *Hoſ.*6.4. *O Judah, what ſhall I doe unto thee? for your goodneſſe is as the morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away.* And if haply this was ſpoken to *Judah* in another Kingstime, and not *Hezekiah*'s, (for *Hoſea* propheſied in foure Kings raignes of *Judah*, *Uzziah*, *Jothan*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*) yet the very laſt thing in the Propheſie againſt *Judah*, muſt in all reaſon bee in *Hezekiah*'s time, *Chap.*12.2. *I have a controverſie alſo with Iudah, and will puniſh Jacob according to his wayes.* Nay, and that which God ſpake in *Iudah*'s commendation compared with *Ephraim*, *Chap.*11.12. intimates, as it were, that the Lord was jealous of *Iudah*'s declining, and returning to Idols; *Ephraim compaſſeth mee about with lyes; but Iudah yet ruleth with God.* Yet, as if he did expect that they would fall off at laſt.

It's manifeſt againe by the Prophet *Micah*, who propheſied in *Hezekiah*'s dayes, that even then there was a defection in the People, the Magiſtrates become corrupt, and the Miniſtrie too, *Chap.*3.9. and *chap.* laſt, and beginning of it. Beſides this, it's more then probable that

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corruptions crept into *Iudah*, even in *Hezekiah's* dayes; because we find there was such a corrupt Minister of State nigh to the King, and in the Kings house, *Shebna* by name, both Treasurer, and also over the Kings house, *Isa.* 22. 15. A man of a mighty proud spirit for himselfe, as is seene in the 16. verse, and a mighty dangerous man to the State of *Iudah*, as appeares in his notable end, in the 17. 18. verse, *&c.*

To put on the use againe in conclusion of these premisses. We see and cannot see; That besides the stirring up of the spirit of *Iehoshaphat*, or *Hezekiah*, or *Iosiah*, or *Zerubbabel*, or *Nehemiah*, or *Cirus*, I say, besides the stirring up of the spirits of Rulers to reforme, there are these two things to be looked unto, if any continued comfort be expected in Reformation.

First, that the hearts of the people be prepared for Reformation. 1.

Secondly, that the hearts of the people be settled, when they are prepared. 2.

First that the hearts of the people be prepared for Reformation: that is, that their opinions, and affections may bee quite taken off, of all wry wayes in Gods worship, and byased with right Rules, and principles in Religion. And hence wee see the necessitie of the Ministers industry, as well as the Magistrates, in reforming times. For though it bee the power of the Sword which must conforme the outside, yet it is the power of the Word, which must reforme the inside of the people. Though the Magistrate must cast

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all extemall performances, yet the Ministery properly casts the heart, and inclinations into a reforming temper.

Note. And therefore Brethren now King, and Ministers of State are discharging their parts in commanding, if Ministers of the Church doe not discharge theirs in informing, and exhorting; Surely, as it was said of the Priests to their disparagement in *Hezekiah's* reformation, 2 *Chro.* 29. The Levites were more upright in heart to sanctifie themselves than the Priests; So will it doubtlesse bee charged on the Ministery in ours, That the Magistrates were more upright in heart to performe their parts in Reformation, than the Ministers theirs.

We see also what here is for private men to worke upon in their prayers, *viz.* the hearts of the people of the Land, as well as the heart of the Prince of the Land in the day of refining. Though the head be never so well, and in temper, yet if there be an ill heart, or a corrupt liver, or ulcerated members in the body, a mans life is still in hazard: So that if Christians do not level as well in their prayers, and humblings, to the sincerity of the Subjects, as the purity of Prince, as well to the preparation of the people, as the reformation of Rulers, the Kingdome is not yet out of danger. For however it be a happinesse to a Kingdome, when Rulers are willing to reforme, as to *Judah* in *Iehoshaphat*; Yet if the people be not prepared for Reformation, marke, and it goes on with-

much difficulty, and every motion of it pinches much. As, this being the case of *Iosiah* six years could scarcely get out rubbish from Church and State, that they might come to repaire: For it was the twelfth yeare before hee could pull downe *Baal*, and the eighteenth before hē could build for God.

Secondly, there must be care had by the Magistrate in their sphere, and the Ministery in theirs, and all the people of God in theirs too, to get the hearts of the people setled, in the rules of Reformation: that they bee not wavering, and of a changeable spirit, except Governours change any forgot, or unseene errors; that their goodnesse may not bee as *Iudah's*, as the morning cloud, and early dew which passeth away; that they may not bee for Antichrist againe, when an opportunity tempts them; but religious when *Iehojada* is dead, and righteous when *Iosiah* is fallen asleepe. In a word, that they may be implanted into a Reformation, as the Medes and Persians were into their Law, which altered not. And if this bee not, then this may be; nay, this will be the mischiefe, and inconvenience, *viz.*

Though the worke of Reformation goe on apace for a time, as it is said of *Hezekiah*, he blessed God, that the hearts of the people were so prepared, that the worke was done with speed. I say, though the worke may goe on with speed for a time, yet in time there may come a pause, and long demurre: and this was their case in the

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building of the Temple, upon the weakning of the hands of the people of *Iudah* and *Benjamin*, *Ezr.* 4. The People were extraordinary busie, and zealous at the foundation of the Temple, but shortly after, by some wiles, and plots of Ante-reformers, their hands were weakned, their zeale abated, and the worke of building the Temple, received intermission many yeares, *Ezr.* 4. Compare the fourth verse with the twenty fourth.

Thus you have seene cleared, that when the Magistrates of a Land are serious in separating betwixt the pretious, and the vile, if the people of the Land, I meane the considerable part of them be peccant, the Land is still in danger, especially for future. For if the hearts of the people be not prepared for reformation, then it comes on with much difficulty: If prepared, and not settled, there may come in dangerous delayes, and besides little hopes to last long. As the Israelites at first comming out of *Egypt*, in one quarter of a yeare they got as farre as to the wildernesse of *Sinai*, the third part of their way from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, and count all their Compasses in their journey: they staied not there much above the yeare compleat, to take their Lawes along with them, and yet after they removed from Mount *Sinai*, they were nine and thirtie yeares before any of them got to *Canaan*. Whereas had their progresse beene like their beginning, they might have beene at the Land of promise within six moneths more.

You

You conceive our owne case without particular application; and you cannot but conceive how much it concernes us all to see to it, to our power, that the hearts of all be not only prepared to reforme, but settled in their preparations. And sure it lyes hard upon Gods people (O that they would heartily take notice of it) not to ebbe a jot in the course of Prayer, and humiliation, or in the way of personall reformation, or exercise of faith, and activenesse of spirit every way, which is proper for the times, and their conditions in them. So much for this first Doctrine from the Argument of the Prophesie.

Secondly, the Prophesie is also to threaten them, that keepe corrupt, and rotten hearts, in times of reformation. And hence this second Doctrine.

That Anti-reformers are sure of ruine. *Doct.* 2. There are sure judgements kept for them, that keepe corrupt minds under times of reformation. For why *Iosiah*'s people should be punished for this temper, and any now escape, I can find no reason; So that to such, ruine will come, though haply, it may be a whole, or a peece of an Age before: as it was with the multitude of the Jewes in *Iosiah*'s dayes, his dayes they were respited, but after ruined. And if in this case the generality of the people bee thus tainted, the whole Nation is at stake, if but an inconsiderable part Almighty God can fit out the accursed thing, and I beleeve will cull out

Achans, and ſave Iſrael.

My Brethren, when in times of reformation and puritie, men will not leave their vanities and ſuperſtitions, what the Word cannot take away, the Sword of the Magiſtrate muſt, or Gods will. Men of ſpirits croſſing reformation, are our Moabites, and Ammonites: We ſhall obſerve that the Moabites, and Ammonites in *Iſraels* time, were by Gods law, the moſt accurſedſt men, of all men; the very Edomites and Egyptians, were not ſo hatefull a people as they, for the children of an Edomite, or an Egyptian, might enter into the Congregation of the Lord in the third generation, but the Moabite, and the Ammonite might not come into the Congregation of the Lord, to the tenth generation, no not for ever. See *Deut.* 23. 3. and 8.

Now what was the nature and diſpoſition of the Ammonite and Moabite, that they above others muſt bee thus accurſed? Why, becauſe they hindered *Iſraels* paſſage to *Canaan*; thus will it be with the men who hinder the Church of God from the enjoyment of her promiſes of Puritie and Peace, they are, or God will make them the hatefull'ſt of men.

And O that ſome in theſe times, would take this into thought, who had rather in their practice in Religion bee conformable to *Rome* in the Popes time, then reduced to *Rome* in Saint *Pauls* time, and chooſe to imitate her in her corruptions, rather then in her puritie. *Rome* is ſure to be ruinated, if the generalitie of

pur

pure Divines in all ages ſince Antichriſt knowne to be there, doe not faile us; nay, and the Scriptures themſelves, which wee are ſure will not. And if ſhee be ſure, as ſure are all they that come not out from her, elſe what meanes that place of Scripture, *Rev.* 18.4. *Come out of her my people, that yee bee not partakers of her ſinnes, and that yee receive not of her plagues.*

Againe, thirdly the Argument of the Propheſie is to ſhew to all Ages, what neceſſitie there is, of fidelity, and throughneſſe in undertaking the reformation of States, and Churches, for otherwiſe they are ſtill in danger. Though it be no error to take away ſome corruptions, yet it is an error not to take away all.

What hath beene the ſpring of the miſeries of ſome of Chriſts Churches (as in *Germany*) ſince they were reformed, but their partiall reformations. *Gualther*, and other judicious Germane Divines were in this note whilſt they lived.

There is no perfect peace in a State, without full Puritie of the Church. The times of laying downe weapons, of beating Swords into plow-ſhares, and Speares into pruning hookes, and of learning warre no more, and of every mans ſitting under his Vine, and under his Figge-tree without feare, *Micah* 4.3.4. are the pureſt times of the Goſpell. The times when the Gentiles ſhall be earneſtly calling upon the Jewes, that they may walke together in the glorious light of the Goſpell compare that of *Micah* with 2 *Iſa.*4. And

And againe, Churches are very ſubject to relapſes, when not throughly healed, and relapſes are dangerous; the laſt error is worſe then the firſt. New Idolaters after a reformation, are more dangerous then former; Conſider the Idolatrous times of *Judah* after reformations, and it is plaine, Idolaters were more dangerous after *Hezekiah*'s reformation then before, witneſſe *Manaſſes* time, and ſtill more dangerous after *Joſiah*'s reformation then before, witneſſe the Captivity. And it is not in vaine to looke upon the next Idolaters after King *Edw.* reformation. And if wee be not blind, we may ſee in our owne dayes, that popiſh ſpirits are more deepe, and deſperate then ever yet. But I am not preaching to reformers, therefore to you my Auditors I commend, and in the name of God may command, theſe three things carefully to bee looked unto by you, even in theſe times wherein the Lord doth diſpoſe the ſpirits of Prince and Governours to a Reformation.

1. Firſt, to your utmoſt abilitie, the preparation of the peoples hearts. For *Jehoſhaphat* tooke not away the High places, becauſe the people as yet had not prepared their hearts to ſeeke the Lord God of their fathers, 2 *Chro.* 20. 33. And your primeſt way for this is powerfull prayer.

2. Secondly, the ſtrengthening of your owne, and their hands, whoſe hearts are prepared; the holding up, and out of your, and their courage, and zeale for reformation. For the weakening of the hands of the people of *Judah*, was a long ſtop

ſtop to the perfecting of the Temple, *Ezr.* 4. 4. And laſtly, And the ſureſt way for this is to enter into a ſure Covenant, the way is lead for us.

Thirdly, it muſt be your ſpeciall care, that you neither Idolize the Inſtruments of reformation, nor under-value them, or bring up an ill report of them. For the firſt branch; Wee our ſelves know, the Churches of *Germany* have had a ſore checke from God, for too much confidence in man *. When, whilſt wee lay our pipes directly upon the Fountaine for derivation, we are ſure to have our pipes full, if once we ſet the Ciſterne in the Springs place, we are ſure to find emptie veſſels. This may bee an error; But that which certainly is the error, is an undervaluing of the Inſtruments of Reformation. It is likely there are many *Belials* that murter againſt Reformers now, as *Sheba* did of *David*, a Reformer of *Iſrael*, 2 *Sam.* 20. *Wee have no part in David, neither have wee inheritance in the ſonne of Jeſſe, every man to his Tents, O Iſrael.* Some ſuch baſe ſpirits no queſtion wee have amongſt us, whoſe hearts riſe againſt Reformers of Church and State, and had rather every man, ſhould walke by will in both, then by rule in either.

3.

*I have heard and read, that the Renowned King of *Sweden* Item'd ſo much unto them before his death.

We ſhall obſerve it uſually in Reformations in Scripture, the Devill hath ſtirred up Anti-reformers, whoſe deſignes have bin to contrive the diſgrace, and baſeſt eſteeme of the Inſtruments of Reformation. Thus *Korah* and his

company plotted amongst the people, to cast an aspersion upon *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they tooke too much upon them, *Num.16.*

In *Zerubbabels* reformation *Rehum* the Chancellour, and *Shimshai* the Scribe, insinuated to the people; That *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua* in their reformation, and restoring the Temple, wronged the King, and Countrey, and signified as much to the King also by politique, but lying Letters, *Ezra* 4. And in *Nehemiah's* reformation *Sanballet*, and *Tobia*, enemies of the same spirit. When our Saviour was in reforming the state of the Church in his time, and preached against the errors, and superstitions of the Jewes, and their Church, then the high Priests and Scribes *Et cetera*, insinuated to the people, that Christ was but a Wine-bibber, a companion of Publicans, and though he did strange things, yet he cast out Divels, by *Beelzebub* prince of Divels.

Beloved, as the case is with us, your cure must be great against carnall reason. For carnall reason might have disputed against *Josiah's* reformation, he was but a Child, and medled also with the very rooting out of things, that his godly Ancestours left standing, both in state and Church. So carnall reason might have objected more in *Hezekiah's* reformation, That he did not only pull downe the High places, set up by men, but the Brazen Serpent, formerly appointed by God. And thus it may bee some men, if they conferre with carnall reason, may cavill at our present Reformers, As that they

make

make themſelves wiſer then their Fathers, and remove things out of Church, and State, which their Predeceſſors found no fault with. And had they beene men of ſuch ſpirits as theſe, ſo might the people have ſtumbled at *Aſa*'s taking away ſome things in his latter reformation, which he left in being in his former fifteene yeares before, 2 *Chro.* 15.

My Brethren, I conclude with this Paralell, in this point, and I beſeech you take it to heart. As thoſe Iſraelites, that brought up an ill report of the Land of *Canaan*, whither *Iſrael* was going, were not only barr'd from comming thither, but dyed of the Plague in the Wilderneſſe, *Numb.* 14. So let thoſe Cavellors againſt the *Canaan*, whither this Church of Chriſt is going, expect aſſuredly, that they ſhall never enjoy the ſweetneſſe of it.

And for a farewell word; If any feare, leſt the enemy ſhould hope, to ſtrengthen themſelves, by ſeeing here, where our ſtrength lyes. I muſt tell them, they feare where no feare is. For the myſteries of the Kingdome of Heaven, made knowne to us, are made Parables to them. And be confident in it; That God does never diſcover duty to us, to enſnare us, but to keepe us out of ſnares that are laid for us.

FINIS.

MERCURIVS BRITANNICUS.

JUDICIALIS CENSURA; } Febris Judicialis.
Vel,
CURIALIS CURA. } Sententia navalis.

TRAGI-COMOEDIA LUTETIÆ,

Summo cum applausu publicè acta.



Mense terribili mandatur Typis,
Quo Stygiis Judices appulere ripis.

Scena *Smyrna*.

Perſonæ.

1. *Euthymius.*
2. *Theocritus.* } Duo familiares amici.
3. *Heraclitus.*
4. *Democritus.* } Duo Philoſophi.
5. *Ægon.*
6. *Althæa.* } Coloni rurales.
7. *Claudius.*
8. *Cratippus.*
9. *Corticetus.*
10. *Vigetii* defuncti debile ſpectrum.
11. *Trivius.*
12. *Curvus Acilius.*
13. *Ioachini* defuncti formidabile ſpectrum.
14. *Hortenſii* defuncti amiabile ſpectrum.
15. *Antrivii* defuncti amicabile ſpectrum.
16. *Damocles.*
17. *Gliciſcus Horologus.*
18. *Chryſomitrus:* } Pænales Judices.
19. *Brunduſius.*
20. *Primachus.*
21. *Cambrenſis.*
22. *Manilius.* } Arbitres Conſiſtorii.
23. *Perdiccas.*
24. *Euchryſius,* Clericus Curiæ.
25. *Roderigo.* Janitor.
26. *Arietus.*
27. *Priſcilla.* } Smyrnenſes Cives.

Chorus plebeius.
Chorus conſularis.

Scena Prima.

Personæ.

1. Euthynicus. } Duo familiares amici.
2. Theocritus. }
3. Hierothus. } Duo Philosophi.
4. Democritus. }
5. Eger. } Colonia males.
6. Afra. }
7. Claudus.
8. Cæcus.
9. Cerberus.
10. Pegasi deliciabile pecudum.
11. Tyrius.
12. Carnifex.
13. Hircus delunchi formidabile pecorum.
14. Hercules [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. Damocles.
17. Clarissimus Nasalgus. } Proxenetæ Judices.
18. Chrysomitra.
19. Bromalgia.
20. Primarius.
21. Cambrensis. } Aulicæ Comitatus
22. Marinus.
23. Perdicus.
24. Rodorigo. Janitor.
25. Rodorigo. Janitor.
26. Christus. } Spectatores Chori.
27. Pistilla. }

Chorus pudicus.

Chorus contubernalis.

JUDICIALIS CENSURA, VEL, CURIALIS CURA.

ACTUS PRIMUS.

Euthymius.
Theocritus.

Euthym. QUò tam præpropero pede cursum dirigis, mi *Theocrite?*

Theoc. An nescis quid in eo optimo morum ac literarum Gymnasio, instructissimo ac integerrimo eo *Primatum, Procerum, Communium,* & *Infimatum* Consistorio, hoc die agitur?

Euthym. Privata negotia nos publicis planè alienos fecerunt, narra, obsecro.

Theoc. Scito mi *Euthymie,* quod hodie de *Indice* sub Judice lis est. Conscripti illi Patres, quorum *purpuram* semel coluimus, *febri* laborant *judiciali*, pro eorum *sententia*, in gravamen *Subditi*, gratiam *Augusti*, perperam prolatâ.

Euthym. Eheu! In quo statu consiti sumus; quando *Indices* coram *Indicibus* rationem reddituri sunt de eorum actionibus in terris!

Theoc. Crede mi *Euthymie,* reddituri sunt rationem, nec evasuri laqueum, ni *candidatis* eis ac *cordatis* Consistorii *Ephoris* apprimè satisfaciant; nec de facili satisfacere poterint: Eos enim lacrymarum ac luctus languentis hujus insulæ plerique dicunt originem fuisse.

Euthym. Citò pereant laqueo, si injuriam attulerint judiciali loco; multò melius est, quòd pereat *unus* quàm *unitas*; luxurians palmes, quàm fœcunda vitis. Quædam est crudelis indulgentia, cujus mollitie, imò mole, omnis ægrotans laborat Respublica. Hoc ego ipse semper asserui, nec minus expertum habuit florens nostra insula, malis parcere est nocere bonis. Quinam autem isti? *Intrant Heraclitus & Democritus.*

Theoc. Si eorum dispositiones enucleatè tibi narrarem, varios gestus ab uno affectu orientes ostenderem. Duo sunt Philosophi irridentes & illacrymantes rebus in orbe gestis. Ille *Heraclitus* compatientis Scenam agit, satur est lacrymis, homines errantes non citius suspicit, quam eorum erroribus ingemiscit; humanum enim est humanis rebus ingemiscere. Iste autem *Democritus* mundum subsannat, mundum sequentium deridet stultitiam; hoc Eulogium in superliminare domus suæ inscribens:

" Miserum me video, & rideo;
" Infelicem te video, nec invideo.

Multi autem exterius gaudent, qui interiùs gemunt; ab ore rident & plaudunt, qui in corde dolent & plangunt. Ista de eorum colloquiis mutuò habitis illicò calleas.

Herac. O mi *Democrite*, quid rides?

Democ. Quia tu fles; quid enim in hoc spatioso Orbis Theatro minimâ lacrymulâ dignum invenias? ubi Servi facti sunt Domini, Domini Servi; Domini capite amputato Servus exurgit; & in sellam Domini ascendit. Conjuges virorum exequias deflent, lacrymas fingunt, in eorum sepulchra desilire offerunt; priusquam tamen unus vermiculus subintravit, amiculum ferale quo involvuntur, aut funebres illi flores aruerunt quibus instruuntur: novos adire thoros, nuptiales accendere tædas aptimè didicerunt. Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Ista oculis meis lacrymas eliciunt: quæ plura mi *Democrite*?

Democ. Quæ plura interrogas? *Diogenis* tibi compara lucernam, & lucibus spectacula undique invenies. Iste in conspectu Principis admodum clarus, fruitur delitiis, eburneis distenditur lectulis, honoribus, uti oneribus, premitur, non quærit quod minus

minus acquirat, nihil ab eo petitur, quo non potiatur; omnes conditionem ejus ſpectantes, admirantur, & feliciſſimum quò terra ſe extendere poterit, profitentur: unica interim nubecula omnes hoſce mentitios radiolos uno die, minutiſſimo imò horulæ minuto diſpulit. Princeps ſeceſſit, magni hujus Herois ſomnians gloria receſſit: & iſte Atlas, qui tantas moles, montes honorum dicerem, Herculeis ſuis portavit humeris, cum ignominia diſceſſit; Hah, hah, hah. Iſte tamen Heros non citius periit, irrevocabile ſuſtinendo fatum, quàm ab iis ſuperſtitem eſſe optatur, à quibus quamdiu vixit & floruit, acerbiſſimis inimicitiis afficiebatur. Viventem quem oderunt, morientem deflerunt, & piis lacrymis redivivum optarunt: ſed Heroidum Capita citius adimenda ſunt quàm redimenda. In hoc tempore multò tutius inſipientem fuiſſe quàm ſapientem; Sapientis enim cerebrum ſecuri fit pabulum, inſipientis ſecurum. Viſne plura?

Herac. Perge, mi *Democrite*, iſtæ non gratiores tibi ſunt facetiæ, quàm nobis noſtræ erunt lachrymæ.

Democ. Plora ineptule, plora, & quò ineptiùs plores, vide, quomodo parentes plerunque parcius vivunt, quò filios prodigos citius reddant. Imo, quomodo Naturæ debitorem ſe facit parens, quò licentiùs luxuriet proles. Progredere, progredere in hanc florentiſſimam Civitatem, circumſpice, feneſtras apertiores contueatis, & ceruſſatas facies proſpicientes, fuco ad focum invitantes, omnia vænalia *Novæ Trojæ* invenies; perlepidas damulas, baſiolo crumeoæ vincula ſolventes: exit parens, intrat pellex. Hah, hah, hah. Alios reperies Officia dimittentes, ni amitterent. Alios *proprios* relinquentes *nidos*, ni unà cum pullis perirent. Alios *opibus rapinæ* affluentes, miſerè exhauſtos. Alios *alienis plumis* ornatos, etiam ſuis exutos. Hic Calones & Canopes à Sportâ aut Sutrinâ exurgentes, ac ſi *Regiæ* eſſent *profeſſionis*, pulſantes pulpita, nova depromentes dogmata audies, & doctiſſimi à plebeis tenentur Theologi. Ne manus lavare poſſim, quin *Smecticam* eam *Brunſialis* effigiem in pelvi ſuſpicio. Nec in Cellariam deſcendere valeo, quin *Abeli* ſtatuam vividam comperio. Imò, ne corrigiam ſolvere potero, quin *Coria-*

ceam

ceam eam *Patientiam* in memoriam revoco, & rideo. Homines enim nunc se verà *inversas arbores* ostendunt, convexos proferendo surculos, inanes fructus. Et quò in uno contexam omnia, Stultorum plena sunt omnia; omnis *Democriti* oculis ridicula.

Herac. Infimæ est conditionis de aliorum lætari incommodis.

Democ. Rectissimè; hinc est quod me totum in cachinnum verto, quia omnia proprio laborant incommodo.

Herac. Talia interim in sua redeunt ipcommoda.

Democ. Et æquissimè, mi *Heraclite*, quis enim, si compos mentis fuerit, terrestrem domum non deseret, quò ad Cœlestem dominum redeat? Isti autem dementes, *Elysios campos* in terris constituunt; futura parvi pendent, quò præsentia possideant. Diruunt, ædificant, vestes tineis, structuras ventis præparant. Hamum honoris non citius pendentem aspiciunt, quàm avidè arripiunt: quo faucibus hærente, mœrtò pereunt. Nec juvenilibus ista unicè efferbuerunt annis; licet enim, ut ille testatur *Siculus*, *Iuvenis senescere sit prodigium*, *Senì juvenescere ridiculum*: Incanescentes tamen hujus Insulæ senes, sepulchro appropinquantes, & eorum canitie si non sapientiam, certè authoritatem & reverentiam exhibentes, maximis delibutos esse vitiis conspiceres, ita ut de iis verissimè dici potest; æquè insenescunt in *crine* ac *crimine*.

Herac. Mira canis.

Democ. Sed vera canimus de canis hisce canibus. Crines citius quàm mores mutabit lupus. Nec primos colores facilè amittet lana; nec infusos prius sapores testa.

Herac. Maxima autem spes tenet *Heraclitum*, quod nullos reperies senes in totâ hac Insulâ tam miserè, perditè imo delirantes, ut terrenis opibus *Elysios* amitterent *campos*.

Democ. Perge, & profice, mi lacrymabilis *Heraclite*, in dementiâ tuâ. Nonne multi sunt, obsecro, *Bourbonis* illius opinionis, qui multo citius partem in *Paradiso* quàm in *Parisio* dimitteret? Hoc ipso die ista testantur *Indices*, venerandi isti & Conscripti Patres, qui sub calculo judicii summo vitæ discrimine hodiè positi sunt.

Herac.

Herac. Eheu! *Indices.*

Democ. Imo *Indices.* Eò igitur conveniamus ambo. Quamplurima enim ibi audiemus, tuis affiniora lacrymis, noſtris accommodatiora gaudiis.

Herac. Perlibenter eò pergam; ubi ſi *Indicium* in *Abſynthium* mutatum audivero, abſynthiatos eos patres ſalſugineis deflevero rivulis: imò totum me in *Niobem* mutavero.

Democ. Age, inepule, age. Hah, hah, hah. Totus orbis, univerſa febris; quot Incolæ, tot Monopolæ. Hah, hah, hah.

Exeunt.

Theoc. Sequamur, mi *Euthymie*, — locus eſt & pluribus umbris.

Euthym. Valde vereor mi *Theocrite*, iſta non conceſſa erit libertas eis qui alieni ſunt Domus conſortio; membra hujus celebrioris Conſiſtorii non ſumus, ergo minus admittendi.

Theoc. Parum te hoc moveat; nemo eſt qui gravi & compoſito aſpectu, placido vultu, venuſto habitu pollet, quin admittetur. Quinam vero iſti?

Intrant Rurales, Ægon & Althæa.

Euthym. Ruſtici ſunt, ut mihi apparent ſimpliciori eorum colloquio; arrectiorem præbeamus aurem, in eorum enim palliis nil *Palladii* ſuſpicio. Circa varias præſentis Status viciſſitudines varia agent, eáque perlepidè, & eò lepidè magis quò inculte.

Ægon. Nova, plurima nova tibi impartiri poſſum, mi *Althæa.*

Althæa. Quænam illa, mi Amicule?

Ægon. Narrabo tibi ſecretum, mi Melleola. *Triennale Parliamentum* habebimus omni anno.

Althæa. Quid iſtud *Triennale*? An ſpectat ad paſcendas greges? colligendos hœdos? paſcuales tuendas limites? depellendas gregibus lues? narra, quæſo.

Ægon. O mi corculum, ſufficiat nobis quod *Triennale* hoc *beneficium* habebimus; Quantum ad me attinet, verè fateor me penitus ignorare, an illud *triennale* mas ſit an fœmina. Novi autem quod de eo rumore in rure ſparſo, totam noctem in publicas puras extruendo, ſociales Cyathos propinando tranſivimus.

Alth. Apage! Illud vocabulum me gravi èr uric, conjux iſte meus, aliquando *Academicus*, nunc *Armentarius*, promiſit ſe omni *Triennio* benevolentiam ſuam mihi ſolvicurum. Et placidè gratias egi, interim neſcivi, quomodo illud tertio unicè anno ſolvendum eſſet.

Ægon. Senio confectus eſt, quid de eo expectes? Age vero, & appropinquemus conſiſtorii portam, hoc enim die multa, eaque magna circa noſtros agenda ſunt *Judices*.

Althea. An paſſuri ſunt ſuſpendium?

Ægon. Neſcio certè; maximum verò iis imminet periculum: *Fibulas*, ut aiunt, *poſteriora* faciunt.

Althea. Quò illuc properemus? Talia Colonis parum competunt negotia: nec eis noſtra quadrant ingenia.

Ægon. Eamus tamen; ſi nil aud amus, quiddam fingamus; quo rura petentes, audientium auriculis majorem ſuporem adferamus. *Exeunt Rurales.*

Theoc. Nec minor nos audiendi petat ſitis; quando omnes eò confluunt, ne texamus moram, adjungamus verò nos ipſos eorum conſortiis. Communi malo, communi auſcultandum eſt faſtidio.

Enthym. Progredere, penſo huic propoſito facilè acquievimus. *Exeunt.*

ACTUS SECUNDUS.

Reſerato oſtio, abducto Sipario, Euchriſius *Clericus Curiæ, Codices profert;* Judices *unanimatim accerſit & Indictamenta legit; quibus perlectis,* PRIMACHUS, CANBRENSIS, & MANILIUS *varia vicibus, varias quæſtiones ſuis proponunt; quibus victiſſim reſpondent* Judices.

Intrat Coriolani Spolium, abſciſſo capite deſignatum.

O Semper aſtet veſtris *Aſtræa* ſedibus,
Obſcuratum Jus qui ſemel floruit,

Et

Et hiſce palmam cœpit Comitiis,
Aſt præmaturo funere periit!

Juſtitiam ſingulis impertite *Candidi*,
Suffragiis gravibus miſcendo lenia;
Parcendo Iudices meliores iſti,
Quàm quos punire ſemper urget ira.
" Non ſolùm *Oleo* ſanantur vulnera,
" Vulnere crudo futidantur *Balſama*.

Vivat Rex, vigeat Conſulum gloria,
Vincat Britannia; *Coriolani* vota.

Quem nec exæſtuans ira Communium,
Atra nec virga, Securis, Theatrum,
Fera nec mortis facies exanimem
Fecerunt; cernite ſupere vividum,
Felicem magis, morte quo miſerum,
Heroum ſuperum cœtu conſpicuum.

" Valete omnia quæ ſpectant Terram,
" Mors mihi lucrum, meta ſepulchrum. *Enn.*

Conſul. Chor. Dira ſunt iſta noſtris oſtenta ſedibus,
At piis culta monitis, quæ unâ tenenda voce, tenenda voto.
Unâ gerenda manu, regenda motu.
— Iſta ſed umbris redditura ſuis.
Pergite Officiales.

Encriſ. Heus *Roderige*, proferantur Captivi.

Roder. Quinam ſunt primò proferendi?

Primach. Proferantur ordinatim, uti argumenta eorum tradiderunt; Ordinis ignorantia perturbat formam juſtitiæ. Primum igitur à primis ordiamur: à Junioribus ad Seniores progrediamur Iudices; ſicut ſingulatim errarunt, ſinguli in ſuorum accerſiantur defenſionem. Multò attentiores & æquiores invenient *Iudices*, quàm ſe in *Navalem* eam agendo *cauſam* oſtenderunt.

Chor. Janitori deducatur *Claudius* ad pergulam. Leva

manum *Claudie*; indictatus es nomine *Claudii*, quod tu in Termino Hilarii, 1637. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conſcientiæ teſtimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nepharie ſententiam dediſti de *Navali pecuniâ* Domino Regi ſolvendâ, nullaque eò impellente neceſſitate, Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de neceſſitate ſuâ ſolum judicare. Die *Claudie*, reuses an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Claud. Me in officio *claudicâſſe* agnoſco; parum verò temporis me ibi remanſiſſe norunt omnes: ut rarior igitur fuit culpa in parcius errando, tenuior ſit pœna in patiendo.

Cambrenſ. Hoc verò in defenſionem cauſæ tuæ parum proficit, ſi diutiùs enim affuiſſes, præfuiſſes imò purpuratis eis Subſelliis, veriſimile eſt, quòd numeroſior fuiſſes in vitiis; una veſtrûm fuit culpa, una vos Charontis ſpectat cymba.

Democ. Quàm lepidè *claudicat* iſte *Claudius* in officio? Heus Charon, emercare ſervos; ardua tibi impoſita eſt provincia, quotidianum tibi eſt penſum; —in te turba ruunt turbida *Iudicum*. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Secede *Claudie*. Heus *Roderige*, ad pergulam accerſiatur *Cratippus*; Leva manum *Cratippe*, indictatus es nomine *Cratippi*, quod tu in termino Hilarii, 1637. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conſcientiæ teſtimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè, & nepharie ſententiam dediſti de *Navali pecuniâ* Dom. Regi ſolvendâ, nullaque eò impellente neceſſitate, Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de neceſſitate ſua ſolum judicare. Dic *Cratippe*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Democ. Bovem in ore, vel craterem in gurgite habet, ne verbum proferre valet.

Manil. O *Cratippe*, ne diuturnioris ſilentii finem facias; tace, deſine, erubeſce. Nec te quicquam magis decuit, quàm tacuiſſe; pia verò erubeſcentia inſueta eſt prævaricandibus pœna. Te obſcœnis lucris ſemper fuiſſe dedicum audivimus, pereas igitur laqueo, ut inhiaſti lucro: corpus extremans, quò lucrum extendas. Nulla te latuit occaſio lucrandi, nulla te igitur pateat ratio pœnas evitandi. Quem enim in hoc Con-

fluvio,

fluvio, in hoc instructissimo circo habes, qui in defensionem tuam exurgat, aut in aliquo te justitiæ alumnum assereat?

Aut unus, aut nemo. Habuisti *unum*, sed tibi dissimilem, *Hortensium* nempè, cui consortem, iisdem subselliis piè assistentem, sed conditioni tuæ dissortem; Illius enim opinio in hoc *Navali negotio Curvo Acilio* optimè quadravit. Non *Scripta quietis*: nec fulmina profugi illius *Chrysomitris* respexerunt isti. Famæ odorem tituli honorum præposuerunt; quanta famæ gloriam qui negligit, crudelis est. Ille igitur *Hortensius* licet mortem oppetiit, talem apud posteros memoriam reliquit; ut monumenta ex marmore, ære, ebore condita, multò citius sunt peritura, quàm ejus inter Britannos peritura est memoria.

Cratip. Non inficeor me reum esse; vestro tamen candore leniatur censura. Sin minùs, sicut una nostrûm fuit sententia, una ad *Anticyras* vehat cymba. Latius extenderem vela, sed à plura loquendo me præpedivit angina.

Democ. Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem. Majores nostri domum pusillam, Rempublicam esse judicarunt: Isti verò totam Rempublicam in propriam domum, imò domus scriniolum contraxerunt.

Herac. O deplorata miseri hominis miseria!

Democ. Ne lacrymulam promerentur ista; Libenter eos insanire jubeo. Ecce enim quàm merita *Cratippo* irroganda est pœna! sicut vanalem linguam habuit, loquendi facultatem tantoperè amisit, ut petægrè veniam delinquenti postulet. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Accersiatur *Corticeus* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Corticeo*, indictatus es nomine *Corticis*, quod tu in Termino Hillarii, Anno Dom. 1637. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conscientiæ testimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nepharie sententiam dedisti de *Navali pecunia* Domu Regi solvendâ, nullaque eò impellente necessitate, Principi debendâ, penes quem fuit de necessitate sua solum judicare. Dic *Corticee*, reus es an non hujus criminis, de quo indictatus es?

Cortic. Non reus.

Cler. Deprehenſus es reus, liberet Deus.

Cambr. Quam plurima tecum ſunt agenda? Satis eloquentiæ, ſapientiæ verò parum habes. Nemo paratior fuit in leges dicendo, ducendo imò, & inſtar *cerei naſi*, ad omnem modulum componendo. Quò autem iſta natalis feſtivitas? Genii & ingenii fatalis felicitas? Initianti fine *cornice* natare, difficile; cœpiſti evolare cum *Upupa*, pubeſcente adhuc pennâ, teſtulâ capiti pendente. In *Cireniſa*, præcipuè in *Ducatu Lancaſtriæ* (eo tempore optimo illo ac integerrimo viro, Dom. *Farrington* vicecomitatus curam gerente) tyrannidem exercuiſti; ubiq; te oſtendiſti faſtuoſum, eóq; omnibus magis exoſum feciſti. Cætera enim peccata in malis operibus inſidiantur ut fiant: ſuperbia verò bonis operibus inſidiatur ut pereant.

Mille virtutibus affluens propter arrogantiam felicitatem amiſit. Cætera vitia Deum fugiunt, ſola ſuperbia Deo ſe opponit. Imò quâ audaciâ, inſolentiâ imò, te exploſæ hujus *ſententiæ Navalis* aſſertorem oſtentâſti, acſi ingeniorum tibi unicè conceſſum eſſet Monopolium? quò quiſque igitur pertinacior fuit in vitiis, eò gravioribus cenſendus eſt ſuppliciis.

Si Schiſma pœnam, Hæreſis mereatur gehennam.

Cornic. Attestor ſuperos, me & victurum & moriturum in eâ opinione, ſi tanti tam cordati & conſpicui verè Conſiſtorii authoritati nixus non acquieſcerem; Tot enim codicillos, Analecta, Statuta, Annales perlegimus, ut ſi narrandi detur locus, vel argumentandi concedatur aditus, iſta opinio noſtra optimis munienda eſſet fulcris.

Camb. Cede locum; locum enim in laqueum commutaturi ſumus.

Democ. Mecaſtor! Quò profuit facundia, cum vita laqueo fit finienda?

Cler. Heus Janitor, ubinam *Vigerius*?

Rod. Ne quenquam eo deſignatum nomine habemus.

Prim. Talem tamen habuimus, qui *Cornicei* fratris ſui opinioni facilè acquieſcens, in nullo unquam ei adhæſerit niſi in *Navalem* hanc proferendo *ſententiam*. Se ægrotantem

ſemper

ſemper finxit, ſi aliquando argumenta proferret. Quando autem in aream deſcenderet (argumentis in platea feliciter perditis) nemo unquam majore brevitate offenderit. Et in hoc unicè ſapientem ſe geſſit, quod moriendo ſententiam prævenit. De eo igitur verè dicendum eſt, quod ſemel *vernavit*, ab antiqua domo proceſſit, in quo uno laudabilis fuit, quòd patrimonium retinere magis quam augere quæſivit.

Vigetii *defuncti Spectrum debili geſtu trepidans apparet & diſparet.*

Democ. Multi moriendo quàm vivendo ſapientiores ſe probant. Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. —In pace ſecedat ad umbras. Deducatur *Trivium* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Trivis*. Indictatus es nomine *Trivii*, quod tu in termino Paſchæ, Anno Dom. 1638. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conſcientiæ teſtimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nepariè ſententiam dediſti de *Navali pecunia* Dom. Regi ſolvendâ, nullaque eò impellente neceſſitate, Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de neceſſitate ſua ſolum judicare. Dic *Trivie*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Manil. Quid obmutueſcis? an premeris?

Democ. Quamplurimas opulentas compreſſit viduas, quid ni prematur? Hah, hah, hah.

Triv. In defenſionem mei parum in promptu habeo.

Manil. Nec unquam habiturus; tace & audi. Hic ipſe eſt, quo nemo ditior, nemo legibus imperitior, profertur eandem in publicum, quò ſe nomini ſuo faciat Synonymum: licet enim cum Larvis parciùs eſt luctandum, hanc tamen columbrem effigiare, hoc prodigium hominum vivis coloribus delineare ſtatuimus, eâque brevitate, quò minus faſtidii auditoribus adferamus.

Democ. Aſſentimur, & pictum hoc *Gorgonis* caput contuemur.

Manil. Iſte *Trivius*, trivialis verè *Trivius*, fatur viduis, viduas gratis: habens plus *fidei* in *arcâ*, quàm *ſagacis* in *anâ*; ſtrenuo & fraudoſo magis corpore, quàm ingenuo & ingenioſo

ingenioſo pectore, ſe proſperum ac felicem procum faciem ab aliorum thoris majorem medullam elicuit, quàm à pauperculâ eâ profeſſionis ſuæ praxi unquam acceperit. Multum loquitur, parum ſapit, & in voce cerebrum ponens, Oceanum verborum, ne guttulâ rationis conditum proferet.

Triv. Ad eſpillum me deſcripſiſti, optime *Manilie*; Inſcium me prorſus Legis fateor, meque (ut cæci ſolent) fratrum meorum opinionibus nitentem, & eorum judiciis ſuccumbentem, facilè acquieviſſe. Ad hoc igitur clamat ignorantia mea, & ei parcite, miſereminimei, cujus ipſe miſerebitur Deus, INNOCENTIS ſcilicet.

Manil. Promptiorem mihi reſponſionem, quàm tu aliquid in tui defenſionem excudiſti *Trivie*; Ignorantia excuſat à *tanto*, non à *toto*. Optimum tibi propoſitum habuiſti exemplum, *Antrivium* nempe, nunc defunctum, & in pace dormientem, qui, teſtante calamo, ſubſanguens adhuc in grabato, tali acquieſcere noluit opinioni. Tu autem æra non ſolum in *imagine*, ſed in *aruginc* colens, portiunculam ſubſtantiæ paci conſcientiæ præpoſuiſti. Sicut igitur mulxiſti *viduas*, te tuis mulgeat *Fiſcus regius*.

Democ. Apage! mulgendus eſt Hircus. Inſcitiæ ſuæ pœnas luet iſte *Ignoramus*. Quæ multi congeſſerunt anni, una dies ademerit; tot conjugum fortunas *Fiſcus* hauſit *regius*. Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Nunquam proſperè ſuccedunt res humanæ, ubi negliguntur divinæ.

Clor. Secedat *Trivius*, arctiore detineatur vinculo ne evadat; & clauſam retine manum *Roderigo*, ni ſurreptitiâ merce libertatem acquirat.

Prim. Quantum ad te ſpectat, vir Spectatiſſime, *Curve Acilie*, conſtantia & integritas tua te patrem Patriæ, Sidus Curiæ, generoſum germen juſtitiæ, radio ſolis deſcripſerunt; perennemq; apud poſteros memoriam, nullius temporis ictu, nullâ ſequentis ævi oblivione exarandam reliquit. Edentem enim livorem, facilè viciſti, & in hac confectâ, peractâ imò ætate tuâ, in penetralibus viventium erexiſti Statuam. Cui nullum ſupereſſe poterit gratius Eulogium, quàm

MEMORIAE

MEMORIAE CURVI ACILII SACRUM.

Democ. O quantum diſtulit *Trivius* ab iſto *Acilio*? Iſte ut leges apprimè ſcivit, ritè diſpenſavit; ille verò nec diſpenſavit nec ſcivit.

Herac. In hac ſupinâ & torpente ætate, ſicut gramen in puteolis, vitia ex eorum inertiâ ſuccreſcere ſolent; unde expertum habuimus, omne malum incurabilius eſſe in ſene quam in juvene.

Democ. Si æquiore tamen indagine horas emeterentur ſuas, quantò ſenes ſunt morti viciniores, tantò debent eſſe puriores. Nunc verò talis eſt corruptela morum, ut homines nunquam magis terram colunt, quàm cum exituri; nunquam minus Cœlum ſpectant, quàm cum eò, ſi bene vixiſſent, perrecturi. — Tene latera, ni ex vinclo ſolvantur riſu. Seneſcunt juvenes, juveneſcunt ſenes, Hah, hah, hah.

Cler. Exeratur *Ioachimus.*

Rod. Exivit de proprio carcere, priuſquam noſtræ traditus fuit cuſtodiæ.

Camb. Defunctus eſt. Et morti { Joachini *defuncti Spe-* multa debuit, licet enim *Delphicum* { *ſtrum formidabili motu* ſe *terribilem* commonſtravit; in { *fluctuans, apparet & diſ-* argumenta ſua callidè, vafrè, & { *parce.*

implicitè texendo. & *Tyridem* ſe plenè geſſit, qui huc & illuc fluctuans, an *Achilli*, vel *Hectori* ſeſe adjungeret, leviter hæſit, editâ atteſtante voce, *Quem ſequar ſcio, quem ſequar neſcio*, Eò tamen ſeveriore mulctandus erat pœna, quò ad palpandam veritatem major illius fuit ſolertia.

Democ. Sed eum de manibus veſtris eripuerunt manes, & prætemporum morteis opportunè moriendo ſuſtulit.

Cler. Proferatur *Hortenſius.*

Rod. Iſte nunquam cuſtodiæ noſtræ traditus fuit.

Manil. Verum dicis, *Roderice*, tam integer vitæ ſuæ cuſtos fuit, ut libertum ſe vivens & moriens geſſit; perpetuis igitur elegiis viri tam probi, & ſinceri { *Hortenſii defuncti ſpi-* memoria deflenda eſt. *Honeſti* e- { *ſtrum amabili vultu* nim *Indicis*, & *Alumni pauperis* no- { *ruidans, apparet &* men emerito adepoſuit. In quo mo- { *laſpavit.*

gis gloriandum fuit titulo, quàm totius orbis imperio.

Invidiam virtute vicit, — & honorem funere nactus.

Herac. Quàm piis arbitriis bonorum ſignanda ſunt Sepulchra!

Democ. Hinc ea originem traxerunt adagia; *Nemo malus qui non ſtultus, Nemo malus felix. Nemo ſapiens peregrinatur; Stultus ſolus exulat.*

Herac. Verè ille, mi *Democrite*, peregrinatur, qui ſeſe non fruitur.

Manil. Secedat, & exemplum præbeat.

Cler. Evocetur *Antrivius.*
Rod. Diutiùs evocatus fuit.
Cler. Ubinam apparuit?
Rod. Eò quò appulit. E manibus & manicis noſtris longiſper fuit emancipatus.

} Antrivii *defuncti Spectrum amicabili aſpectu ambiens, apparet & diſparet.*

Prim. Quo jure? quo privilegio?

Rod. A mandato cujuſdam *Heroïs*, morioſi admodum & imperioſi; in portam enim carceris poſtquam pauliſper præſtolatus eſſet, ſe intraturum, vel oſtium compagibus inverſurum jurabat: tam torvo & terribili erat aſpectu, ut metu perculſus ei viam dedi; ut verò captivum tradidi, illicò à crine eum ſurripiens, diſparuit.

Camb. Inevitabili fato nullus eſt reluctari. Vir autem ille ſi ad iſta uſque ſupervixiſſet tempora, tàm approbatæ fuiſſet in hac diſceptatione opinionis, ut immunis evaſiſſet, & confectæ ætati ſuæ tàm felicitèr tranſactæ Colophonem attuliſſet. Dormiat in pace, ut efflоruit in luce: & eò pulchriùs efflоruit in luce, quò minùs efferbuit in lite.

Democ. De mortuis nil niſi bonum; ſin corpore minus ægrotaſſet, in mente fortiùs minus convaluiſſet.

Herac. Verè dicis, mi *Democrite*; Ægritudo enim corpus vulnerat, ſed mentem ſanat.

Democ. Quàm inſani interim ſunt iſti, qui vegeto præſtantes corpore, inſaniunt mente?

Cler. Janitor, deducatur *Damocles* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Damocles*. Indictatus es nomine *Damoclis*, quod tu in termino Trinitatis, 1638. contra Reipub. pacem. Subditi libertatem,

libertatem, Conſcientiæ teſtimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè ſententiam dediſti de *Navali pecunia*, Dom. Regi ſolvendâ, nullaque eò impellente neceſſitate, Principi debendâ, penes quem fuit de neceſſitate ſuâ ſolum judicare. Dic *Damocles*, reus es an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Dam. Neque me prorſus reum, nec innocentem fateor. Argumenta mea ſi quis adamuſſim perlegerit, me opinioni fratrum meorum maximè diſſentientem reperiet. Non apertè enim talem Principi deberi Cenſum aſſerui; quò igitur moderatior noſtra fuit ſententia, eò magis lenienda eſt veſtra cenſura. Noſtra quibuſdam circumſtantiis præcincta, imò præſtricta erant argumenta; veſtrum ſit igitur (Spectatiſſimi viri) ætati noſtræ indulgere, rude diutius donatæ, nunc ſenio & curis miſerè confectæ.

Prim. O *Damocles*, non ita evadas; nec tamen ſine piis lacrymis deplorata tua ſpectanda eſt conditio: In rebus enim forenſibus, optimam adeptus es famam. Bovem in ore nunquam habuiſti; Clientuli cauſam, modò integram & probitatis fuleris innixam, ſtrenuè & ſtudioſè egiſti. Imò, (ut nobis relatum fuerit) nil domi habes niſi rerum inopiam, foris es alienum. Hinc egeſtatem tuam ipſius æquitatem apercidsmerita aſſo aſſeruimus. Iſta forſitan mollitiæ & minuant, nequaquam adimant.

Herac. O paupercule Judex, nonne tua pauperies te immunem reſtituet?

Democ. Tace inepcule, iſte inſipiens præ omnibus graviſſimas promeritus eſt pœnas, quando per totum annos, imò annorum ſeries nobiſcum floruit, primis ſubſellis inceſſit, tot lucrandi occaſiones, uti pendulas eſcas, habuit, tamen inſtar Coci malè conditi, ne digitos paululùm elambere potuit. Hah, hah, hah.

Camb. Accuratâ ſatis indagine hanc *Larvatam cauſam* exploravimus; nunc ad alias progrediendum eſt ſedes; nec rariores nos in eis ſpecubus inventuros eſſe cohibres magnoperè vereor. Quo *Augeæ* verò hoſce *Stabulos* melius purgatos relinquamus, & nullius vel impudentiæ vel ignorantiæ

 detur

detur locus: quantum ad *Gliscum*, *Glirem* potius dicerem, instar *Cipbræ* locum tenentem, parum verò pectoris retinentem, minùs *Astræam* callentem: Horologus vester quia fuit, O *prætextati Iudices*, eum in Horologii custodem destinamus: parum habet pectoris, lenior eò in supplicijs.

Democ. Quam arctâ *Midæ* auriculâ ista audit.

Cler. Dominationi vestræ complacuit, quod ad alias Ephori classes descendamus?

Prim. Quò minùs? una pœna implicat, quos unus amor in crimine ligat.

Cler. Heus Custos atræ virgæ, efferatur *Chrysomitris*.

Cust. Excessit, erupit, evasit.

Manil. Ubinam gentium?

Cust. In aliam evolavit regionem. Nidum reliquit, ni in eo caperetur priusquam excederet; Et ab eo tempore in quo hinc discessit, inter *Gallos* (ut aiunt) cantare cœpit.

Manil. —O quæ dementia cepit! O quàm vividè indigitat illa *Chrysomitræ* sententia! *Malum consilium consilario pessimum.*

Cust. Relicto Consulari ordine, militiam exercere dicitur, & nuperrimè proditum est, se ex iniuriâ sibi illatâ fortissimi pugilis officium præstitisse: inimicum enim ioculem reliquit, seque non minùs *fortem militem* quàm *facundum Rhetorem* narravit.

Camb. Quàm plurimas, easq; peræximias dotes illi contulit natura; quę si condimentum acceperant ab *humilitate* & *gratiâ* clarissimum, verè fecissent. Superbienti autem nullum opus honore periculosius. Tam facile mutant mores, ut se etiam propinquis & familiaribus ignotos faciunt. Isti tumores mundi tam insuetâ rabie eorum perstimularunt mentes, ut infelicissima suorum conditio sese suis & aliis invisos reddit. Optimè igitur magistratus magistratu acquiritur, nec ulli dignius imperiendus est, quàm ei à quo minimè vel tepidè requiritur. Optime hoc monuit, qui dixit, "Renuenti detur, annuenti denegetur. Dum autem iste *Chrysomitris* in exterâ regione niduletur, priusquam revocetur, satis domi talium Salutatorum habemus; talis omnis avis tenerè nimis lactavimus.

vimus. E noſtris exeant oris, & tardè redeant, ne Matrem à cujus uberibus pendebant, perimant. Quo autem in uno arctius contexamus omnia, & iſta à nobis removeantur omina; nemo ſe unquam magis ingratum *Chryſomitre* geſſit. Principi enim, cui nemo devinctior, ea imputavit quæ ipſe fecit. Quando fortis & conſtans animus mille citius perferret mortes, imò lepido aſpectu (inſtar *Heroici* illius *Spiritus* nuperrimè occumbentis) mortis inexorabilis minas retorqueret, quàm Principi de ſe tàm benè merenti vel leviſſimam maculam aſpergeret. Sed diſcedat ille cum eloquentiâ ſuâ; quo nullus unquam *Index* injuſtior, nullus *Cuſtos* iniquior nec inopior; nullus *Solicitarius* impurior nec importunior. Intereà nos ipſi, ne ſub eorum calculo recenſeamur, qui *Mercurium* in *linguâ* non *pectore* gerunt; non tam accuratè quàm candidè ac cordatè; non tam politè, quàm rectè & ritè de re omni nobis propoſitâ diſſeramus.

Demas. O miſera felicitas! ſplendida ſervitus! famam, fortunam, vocem, vultum, nidum & nationem ictu oculi perdidit.

Herac. O niveæ honorum pilæ, minimo intempeſtivo mentis æſtu reſolvendæ! Quinam autem ille qui tam turgido & elato more prodit?

Democ. Ipſe eſt, quo nemo in Republicâ meliorem adeptus eſt opinionem, priuſquam Magiſtratum obtinuit; adepto verò, nemo infelicius amiſit. Sic rebus mores ceſſere ſecundis. "Bonus Cauſidicus, Judex peſſimus.

Cler. Accerſi *Brundaſium* ad pergulam. Leva manum *Brundaſie*, Indictatus es nomine *Brundaſii*, quod tu in Termino Trinitatis, 1638. contra Reipub. pacem, Subditi libertatem, Conſcientiæ teſtimonium, Deum non habens ante oculos tuos, perfidè, perditè & nephariè ſententiam dediſti de *Navali pecuniâ* Domino Regi ſolvendâ, nullaque eò impellente neceſſitate, Principi debendâ; penes quem fuit de neceſſitate ſuâ ſolum judicare. Dic *Brundaſie* reuses an non hujus criminis de quo indictatus es?

Prim. Domine *Prolocutor*, parce paulliſper, iſte enim *Brundaſius* acriore more tractandus eſt. Hoc confidenter aſſeram, quod nemo à Republicâ pejus promeritus fuerit: cum ſe

juſtitiæ antiſtitem omnes reputarunt, ſe juratiſſimum illius inimicum oſtenderit, in talem famæ nævum, conſcientiæ labem aſpergendo. Vidit, & apertis oculis cecidit: æquum novit & iniquum egit; meritò igitur periit. Si enim, ut *Trivius* ille, Legum ignarus fuiſſet, in defenſionem ſuam aliquid proferri poterit: contra expertiſſimam verò ſcientiæ ſuę normam ſententiam dare, ô piaculum!

Brund. Ingenuè fateor, nec minus ingenuum candorem veſtrum obteſtor, me leniore eo ac molliore ſuſurro *Chryſomitris*, partim blandientis, partim comminantis, *Novalem*, novalem imò meam tradidiſſe ſententiam. Dixit enim *Chryſomitris*, (quo nemo, ut optimè noſtis, in artificium benevolentiæ colligendo, nec in perſuadendo fellciorem artem unquam habuit) me tali ſententiæ in gratiam Principis vel acquieturum, vel honorem meum amiſſurum; imò *Scriptum quietis* ad ſummam mei ignominiam perpeſſurum.

Prim. O deliria ſenilis avaritiæ! veſtrumne fuit *Scripta quietis* quieti mentis præponere? an oportuit vos, quò propinquiores eſtis Sepulchris, eò terreſtribus procliviores eſſe deſideriis? pedem habere Sepulchro appropinquantem, & mentem habere mundo inhiantem? O ſi penſaretis quàm parum naturæ ſufficeret; & de eo parvo, quàm minimum ſenectuti veſtræ competeret; multò levior de terreſtribus cura, multò altior de cœleſtibus ſolicitudo vobis incumberet!

Vos enim qui in ſtudio Legis tantoperè claruiſtis, maximis omnium pœnis afficiendi eſtis: Speculum habentes, juſtitiæ tam purum, tam integrum, *Curvum* nimirum *Aciliam*, virum, ætate confectâ, ſed mente vividâ, conſcientiâ inviolatâ. Eumque habuiſtis in *Exemplum*; ſed (*curva* licet veſtra fuerint veſtigia) *Curvum* ſequi renuentes, juſtitiam rectam in obliquam convertiſtis. Noſtis, apprimè noſtis, & in eo gravius vobis impendet judicium, aureola ea *Periandri* monita, memoratu digniſſima; *Nihil pecuniarum gratia agendum. Indicio favor officit.* Perit enim omne judicium cum res tranſit in affectum. Nimius amor & nimium odium omne pervertunt judicium.

Nec *Ioachimus* ille nuperrimè defunctus, leviores emeritus

eſt

eſt pœnas, naturæ verò debitum ſolvendo, Parcæ ſe eis perpetuum fecerunt debitorem. Implicitus enim licet & nodoſus in argumentis fuit, *Gregoriano* tamen nodo iſte *Oedipus* cum ænigmate ſuo, ſi minùs obſtiterant fata, ſeſe implicuiſſet.

Democ. Seni impoſtorem agere, quid obſcenius? Hah, hah, hah.

Herac. Et hoc plerunque evenit, cum ſenes in terris poſuerunt *Elyſium*.

Prim. Secedamus paululum, Selecti fratres, quo maturiore adhibito conſilio, ſententiam in cujuſq; noxam accommodatius reddamus. *Secedunt Arbitres Conſiſtorii.*

Intrant Arietus & Priſcilla, &c. Smyrnenſes cives.

Herac. Quò iſta mulierum turba confluunt?

Democ. Ex earum habitu facilè conjicias. Civiles ſunt conjuges, delicatulæ anates, quæ huc properant, quò fatalem hanc *Indicium* cenſuram audiant.

Herac. Eheu! an teneræ earum aures iſta ſine lacrymis audire poterint?

Democ. Credisomnes *Heraclitî* mollitie eſſe compoſitos? toto cœlo erras; Iſti mulierculæ fortioris ſunt ſpiritus. Oculis enim ſiccis, ſaltem fictè humidis, conjugibus ſuis peregrè navigantibus longum vale valent dicere; Imò ſepulturæ traditos ſubtriſti ore, hilari verò corde converi, & priuſquam funebres extinguentur faces, alienos in mentibus fovere ignes.

Herac. Miror verò quod magis hoc ipſo die quàm aliis huc convenerunt.

Democ. Ignoras cauſam? audi & acquieſce: alii erant dies diſceptandi, iſte verò judicium denunciandi; & noſti ſertas *executiones* magis quàm *indicium* ſemper amâſſe.

Herac. Parum ab iis expectandum eſt in Judicibus.

Priſcilla. Intrabo certè, ſi enim *Caprcolus* ille *Arietus* in Curiâ ſedeat, certè ſcio, quod mihi faciliorem aperiet introitum, ut egomet ei ſæpiſſimè dedi facillimum.

Arietus. Piſh, piſh, mi muſcula, mi melleola, mi Roſamella, quid tibi cum Curia?

Priſ-

Priſc. Et quid nobiſcum Curia? Tace *Ariete*, tace Cornelie, actum eſt de amicitiâ, ſi mihi *Statio* non pareatur in Curiâ.

Ariet. Medius fidius, nulla tibi cum *Aulico* fiat *Statio* in proprio loco.

Priſc. Fuit verò & fuerit mi *Pennle*, ſi mihi diſpliceas.

Ariet. Abſit, longè abſit, mi *Lauricula*, quod talis generi meo aſpergatur macula; talis fronti imprimatur nota.

Priſc. Quidni? An te primum eo initiatum ordine autumes?

Ariet, Nullimodò; libentèr tamen nollem gerere nocturnum meum pileum iuxta novum civicum morem cum patulis auriculis: nec cervical corneis ramentis ſuffertum ſomniare.

Priſc. Parum te iſta moveant; prævidenda citius ſunt fata, quàm prævenienda. Si talia tibi deſtinentur inſignia, ne reluctaris: contra ſtimulum enim calcitrare, inſipientis eſt.

Ariet. O indomita iuvencæ libertas! Nonne ego ſum *Arietaria* ſtirpe editus; de totius civitatis antiquiſſimâ *Cornelia* quâ familiâ ortus?

Priſc. Quid inde? nulla tam venerabilis familia, quæ tali fato minùs ſubdita. Quo tandem iſtæ proſunt nugæ?
— Heus, *Titille*, *Titille*.

Ariet. Quid tibi cum *Titille*, pruriente eo Aulico?

Priſc. Ut facilior mihi aperiatur aditus.

Ariet. Perægrè tibi concederetur. In hiſce publicis Comitiis nullus relinquetur locus fœminis.

Priſc. Quid ni fœminis? acſi nos tainus capaces eſſemus! Invenient, imò probant, nos ſatis eſſe capaces. Aſcendam certè quò attentiùs audiam, apertiùs videam.

Ariet. Quid audias? quid videas? quò, mi *Cuniculo*, te tua rapit cupiditas?

Priſc. Videre *Iudices* magnoperè cupio; dicunt enim (& fama an mendax ſit ſcire vellem) eos in mentum ne plus habuiſſe barbæ, quam Simiam caudæ.

Ariet. Satis ſubtiles ſine pilis apparebunt. Iſtud autem Tonſoris officium ſubeunt, quo in ſubſellis terribiles magis aſpectus induant.

Priſc.

Priſc. Imberbes iſtos juvenes molli lanugine pubeſcentes ſuboleo; Imberbes & imbelles verò ſenes, quorum pili ſtimulantes ſunt ſetæ, parum ſapio. — quinam illi?

Ariet. Judices ipſi quos videre tantopere concupiſti.

Priſc. Eheu! Quàm frigidi eſſent ſponſi? perpetuum habent ſtiricidium in barbis.

Ariet. Tace, mi *Lepuſcula*; quando huc veneris, & in gradus aſcenderis, audi quid fiet de iis.

Priſ. Tradantur ſuſpendio, parum me uret; valdè ſuſpicor eos vix eſſe maſculini generis. Irritum ſunt genus, perfidum pecus, inimici generationis; facilè pereant cum ſuis judiciis.

Ariet. Coerce linguam, mi *Anatula*, ni obſerveris.

Priſc. Obſtructas habent aures, concutientes oculos, nec me audiant, nec videant. *Exeunt.*

ACTUS TERTIUS.

Abductis Siparia ſerico, intrant Arbitri Conſulares, Conſiſtorii præſidentes; Prætoriales Judices; Euchrinius *Clericus Curiæ*, Roderigo *Lanitor, &c.*

Cler. Heus *Roderigo*! proferantur Captivi.

Democ. Quàm univerſa febre languent corpora! Hah, hah, hah.

Manil. Aſtate Judices aſtate; deploratiſſimæ conditionis Judices. Reos vos eſſe criminis cujus indictati eſtis, non negaſtis; nec in defenſionem cauſæ veſtræ tam excordis & deperditæ, aliquid attentionis noſtræ dignum proferre potuiſtis. Noſtis ſat noſtis, quod Judex in nullo eorum ſic judicandus, quod in alio judicare eſt paratus. In quo, inquam, quàm miſerè erraſtis? Illius enim criminis Judices fuiſtis & Cenſores, cujus vos ipſi extiſtis Authores. Judici mercedem capere, fuit capitale. Sin tanta & tam gravis denuncianda fuerit ſententia unius ob noxam, eamq; ad unicum ſpectantem Subditum;

quale eis ſupplicium irrogandum eſt, qui totius florentis Inſulæ Subditis intulerunt injuriam; Principi Subditum, Subdito Principem ſuſpitioſum faciendo; novas contra conſcientiæ clariora teſtimonia, opiniones promulgando; Haleyoneos dies pacifici Regis, & morigeri Status inſolitis nimbis perturbando; imò omnia pro viribus veſtris in flammam & cinerem vertendo? Si tale incendium (ut Incendiarios vos verè geſſiſtis) non promereatur ſuſpendium, quid æquius emereatur planè neſcio: Lex primùm inſtituebatur ut ſit *ſalus publica*, à vobis verò ſit Reipub. peſtis teterrima.

Mide Scenam vos omnes apprimè egiſtis. Fidei commiſſarii in gratiam Principis & populi facti eſtis; quam nec minis, amicis, prece nec precio eſtis violaturi: illecti verò ſpe præmii, vel Punico pavore perculſi, juſtitiam nudam reliquiſtis, & conſcientias in vos teſtantes, miſerè neglexiſtis. Sic victi pretio, vel metu fracti, interiore cæcutientes lumine, *Mide* vos miniſtros verè probando.

Omnes. Miſeremini, miſeremini, Spectatiſſimi viri.

Demos. Euge! *Verſiculum*, quem totius iſti alii indidiſſent Judices, ipſi coacti ſunt nunc deprecari. *Miſereatur veſtrum Deus.*

Manil. Eadem menſurâ quâ aliis menſi eſtis, remetietur & vobis.

Herac. Eheu! Ne minima hiſce miſeris relicta eſt ſpecula, ſi compar eis penſetur menſura.

Manil. Arrigite aures & attendite; inter ſuccaſſivas horas vos ſæpiſſimè relegiſſe facilè credo, quomodo Germani, felicioſæ *Druſi* auſpicio, *victi* magis quàm *domiti*; eoque defuncto, viribus imminutis ſuis, *Veri Quinctilii* libidinem ac ſuperbiam haud ſecus quàm ſævitiam odiſſe cœperunt: & quàm facilè victores evaſerunt. Quo brevi tranſacto certamine, ſeſe ut Barbari erant, efferos & crudeles victores geſſerunt. Nec in ea gueſtante ſævitiâ ſe ulli conditioni magis implacabiles oſtenderunt, quam Conſularis dignitatis viris, quia eorum facundiâ, venali, ut putarunt, linguâ deprompta, Romanos primum eos aggreſſuros, & lacrymabilis belli incõmodis ſubditos coegerunt. *Varus* perditas res eodem quo *Camerſius Paulus*,

Paulus, & fato eſt, & animo ſequutus nihil ille cæde per paludes, perque ſylvas cruentius, nihil inſultatione Barbarorum intolerabilius, præcipuè verò in *Cauſarum patronos*: aliis los, aliis manus amputabant: unius os ſuum, reciſa prius linguâ, quam in manu tenens Barbarus, *Tandem*, inquit, *vipera ſibilare deſiſte*. Recolliſſe etiam, vobis non incommodum erit, cum *Manium Acilium*, inexplebilem illam munerum voraginem, & inter Romanos præcipuum Legatum; quem *Mithridates* ſummo cum contemptu in Aſinum inſidere juſſit, donec uſque ad *Pergamum* veniſſet, ubi Elixum aurum in os ejus immitti præcepit; eò implicare Romanos cenſendo acceptioni munerum nimis deditos, linguis inimiciciis nimis facundas. *Alex. Severus* hoſtis aſſentatorum maximus, Aulicum ſuum *Turinum* demandavit in publico foro ſudi configendum, & fumo ſuffocandum, voce præconis acclamante,

Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit.

Præſtat enim (*Antiſthenis* verbis uti) ὑπὸ καπνοῦ quàm ὑπὸ κολακείας incidere; Coracibus prædam facere cadaverum, quàm Adulatoribus viventium. Inſigne igitur prudentiæ ſpecimen eſſet, vobiſcum agere, qui talem Reipub. intuliſtis peſtem, & ementitiis judiciis publicam imminuiſtis pacem; Sicut ille *Philippus* rex Macedonum, cum duobus Subditis ſuis, iiſque peſſimæ conditionis, aliquando egit. Alterum enim Macedoniâ fugere, alterum perſequi juſſit, quo facto, patria noxiis iſtis Paraſitis patriæ fuit liberata. Utrique datur exitus, nulli reditus.

Brand. Eſt viri boni dicere, cum perdidiſſe poteris, peperciſſe, quàm cum parcere poteris, perdidiſſe.

Manl. Malis qui parcit, bonis nocet. Attendite, quæ vobis denunciando eſt ſententia. Sicut leges Aranearum aliis feciſtis ſimillimas, & florentem hanc Reippub. nimbis & procellis diſtortæ veſtræ opinionis, ut navicularn agitaſtis; Nullus in hiſce finibus vobis admittitur locus. Pergite igitur, pergite (talis enim eſt veſtra definita ſententia) ad fortunatas eas Inſulas, *Arman* appellatas, *Hibernicæ* tractu ſitas. Ibi enim, ſi venenati eſtis, diu reſpirare non poteritis: Sin verò mores, uti cives, propoſitum vobis ſatis mutaſſe, in ſia Inſu-

lis aerem habebitis æquissimè temperatum, & corporibus vestris tàm salubritèr dispositum, ut perægrè moriemini, ni talé vobis fastidium adferat mundus, aut vos mundo, ut multò minus gratum fuerit vivere, quàm mori. Imò tantum temporis ex temperie aeris vobis concessum fuerit, ut retiduæ redimant horæ, quicquid anteactæ dissipárunt. Irrevocabilis data est sententia, nulla à vobis nectenda est mora. Paratur navigium, rudente, clave, antennâ, anchorâ destitutum, (vestri reginminis fatale judicium) hoc charactere dignoscendum.

CENSURA CONSULIS, CYMBA CHARONTIS.

Iudices. In senectute æquè ac hyeme navigare, grave est.

Prim. Nulla in Consortiis pœna gravis.

Democ. Citò abite, serò redite. *Exeunt Iudices.*

Tollite nunc fasces, satis ulta supina senectus.
Sedes alma Themis suscipe, Cymba senes.

ACTUS QUARTUS

Intrat Chorus plebeius.

Chor. pleb. Eloquere Domine *Pimor*, pro totâ grege tuâ; tu enim Conventiculi Oraculum es nostri.

Democ. Hah, hah, hah. O grex egregia! egregiâ asinaria! Ignavum pecus dicerem. — nunc *Lernæ* reclusit fauces. Exite genimina viperarum perfida. Hah, hah, hah.

Chorus pleb. Eloquere, Domine *Pimor*, eloquere.

Pimor. Sciant omnes per præsentes, (Viri & fratres charissimi) quod tria à nobis veritatis assertatoribus, cæcitati temporum compatientibus, zelo animarum ardentibus, & reformationi Religionis anhelantibus, præcipuè requiruntur.

Democ. Quàm placidè nobis arridet phanaticus iste Religionis relegator? Hae, hah, hah.

Pimor. Primò, ut nullus sit in Ecclesia ordo; Secundò, ut omnes ritus, ceremoniæ, vestes sacerdotales, Musica instrumenta

menta aboleantur in Eccleſiâ. Tertiò, ut nulla ſit communis orationis formula.

Herac. O quàm miſerè delirantes iſti Eccleſiam facerent acephalam!

Democ. Tace & audi, Apage! quàm *arrectis auribus* iſta *rotunda capita Pimenum* oratorem ſuum audiunt, audiendo ſtupent?

Pim. Sin verò prudentiæ veſtræ æquius videbitur, quod Eccleſia ſuſciperet gradus *Maioris & Minoris*; Hoſce præpoſitos volumus eſſe *Laicos Seniores*; ad quam quidem dignitatem ſortiendam, nullos æquiores, nec ex omni parte paratiores judicamus, quàm venerabiles fratres noſtros, Dom *Calcearenum*, *Sportarium*, *Fibularium*; (cui licet *Viridarius* Demi-caſtoreus ille, nuperrimè competitorem oppoſuit, in efficaciâ ſermonis facilè victt, victorq; evaſit) Homines reverâ mediocriter doctos ſed mirabiliter inſpiratos. Ante omnia autem volumus, quod præcipiatis *Franciſco de Sacra quercu*, Apocryphum illud *Epiſcopi* vocabulum dehinc cum aſteriſco diſtinguere, & inter verba obſoleta, in perpetuam rei memoriam, ponere. Quantum verò ad primum articulum querimoniæ noſtræ attinet, ſicut nullum planè *ordinem* in Eccleſiâ eſſe volumus, ita omnes (ut ſecundum petamus articulum) *ritus & ceremonias* perhorruimus; quia quicquid antiquum, minùs verum credimus. Veſtes Sacerdotales æquè in Preſbyterio, ut Sindonias manicas in Epiſcopo improbavimus; pallium illud ſacrum & ſuperpelliceum, ut Babylonicæ pellicis ſupparum, ſubaculam muliebrem Ægyptiacis laciniis, lenociniis imò decoretum, deliburum dicerem. Scortantes iſti Sacerdotes qui in lineis hiſce veſtimentis nobis prodeunt, uti ſpectra è Cœmeteriis prodeuntia apparent. Quantum verò ſpectat ad Muſica inſtrumenta, ut *Babylonica tympana* ſemper æſtimavimus; imò ne *propria* verè diligere poſſumus *mendacia*, quia appellantur *Organa*.

Democ. Iſti certè ad piſtrinum potius quàm ad Religionem reformandam cenſendi ſunt.

Pim. Quoad tertium querimoniæ articulum, nullam volumus *communis orationis* formulam, ne Dominicam orationē; *Spiritui diffidentiam* apertè minuit. Nec *orantes* igitur neque

prædicantes paratos volumus habere pastores, ex tempore verò loquentes, quò magis in se probent *efficacium Spiritus Turneri* symbolum, & glossam ejus de *Communione Sanctorum* valdè approbamus. Et ut in uno complectamur omnia; quæ nova, modò nostra approbamus; quæ antiqua, licet mille consiliis approbata rejicimus.

Perd. Audite dementes, tritum sed facetum Rithmum quem in Britannicâ Insulâ semel audivimus. In eo Idiomate vobis reddetur, in quo accepimus.

Tack tent to my saw my Sonnes three
Rob. Will. and Dave.
Keep wele your Pater and your Ave,
And if you mind your Fathers reed,
Stand close to your auld Crede.
But for my daughter Gillion,
I wad she were wele bolted with a bridle
That leavs her warke to play the Clarke
And lets her whele stand idle.
For it sawes not for She ministers,
Ferriers nor furriers,
To defcant on the Bible.

Chorus consul. Mittamus nugas! querimonias vestras, viri & fratres, multo majore attentione, quàm demeritæ sunt audivimus. Quantum ad *Episcopos* refert, eadem & exæquem titulum peræqrè reliquimus; justius autem censuimus rescindi *vitia* quam *officia*. Desistite tandem à deliriis vestris; quicquid commodè fiat, & Ecclesiæ pacì competat, ei maximè providendum est. Sin minùs *trabes*, saltim *festucæ* hæsit oculis sunt removendæ. Non habent in se charitatem, qui non diligunt Ecclesiæ unitatem.

Ite domum, vos vestris intendite, nostrum sit communi inservire bono; Principi, populo, patriæ.

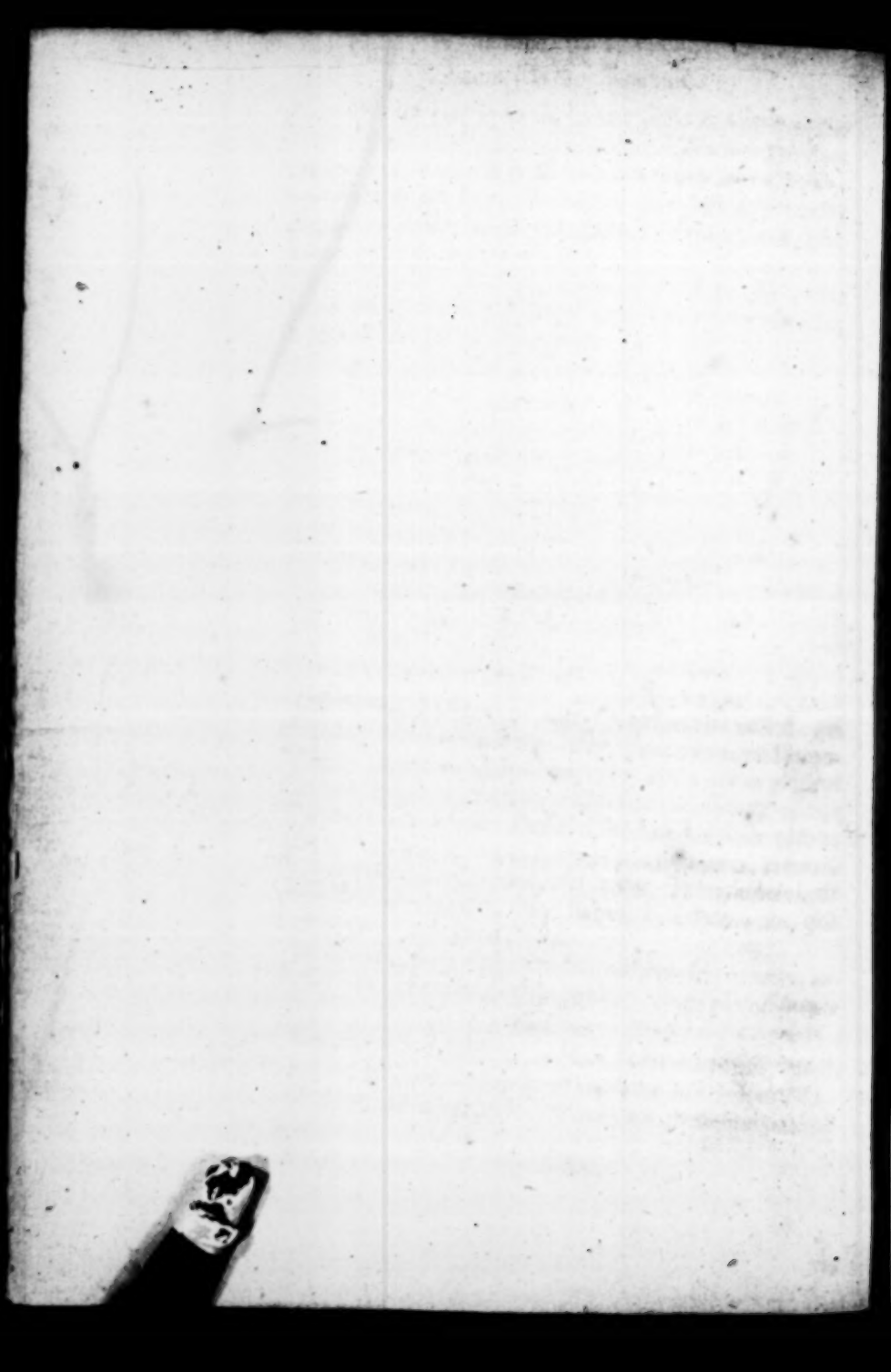
Exeunt.

Epilogus.

Statutum est ab Ædilibus, publicis ludis præpositis, quod proximo die (permittente Jove) quintus *Actus* super *Tiburtum*, *Tiburgum* dictum, à novâ societate *Mollygus* publicè agetur.

Vive le Roi.





REASONS 16.

against the

INDEPENDANT GOVERNMENT

of Particular

CONGREGATIONS:

As also against the Toleration of such Churches to be erected in this KINGDOME.

Together with an Answer to such Reasons as are commonly alledged for such a *Toleration.*

Presented in all humility to the Honourable House of Commons, *now Assembled in* Parliament.

By THO. EDWARDS, *Minister of the Gospel.*

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1 Cor. 12. 21.

And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee, nor again the head to the feete, I have no need of you.

Rom. 16. 17.

Now I beseech you Brethren marke them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the Doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them.

LONDON,

Printed by *Richard Cotes* for *Jo. Bellamie,* & *Ralph Smith,* dwelling at the signe of the three Golden Lions, in *Corne-hill* neere the *Royall Exchange.*

1641.

PRESENTED
BY THE
AUTHOR

TO THE

HONORABLE

THE

KNIGHTS, CITIZENS,

and BVRGESSES

Of the Commons Houſe

OF

PARLIAMENT.

THIS not unknowne to You, Right Noble and Worthy Senators, that the Great and Preſent Controverſie of theſe Times is about the Church, and Church Government. In the dayes of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, and the reſt of thoſe Worthies, the controverſie of that age, was concerning

ning the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, being generally ſtiled *Bellum Sacramentarium*, and the Sacramentary Controverſie, the contention about it (even amongſt the Servants of God) being ſo ſharpe, that it produced moſt ſad and wofull effects. The ewas not any one thing more hindred the cauſe of God, or the free paſſage of the Word, or the progreſſe of the worke of God begun in the Church then this. This weakened and wounded the Proteſtant party, their weapons being turned each againſt other, this made them a gratefull ſpectacle to their enemies, this ſtrengthened the Popiſh ſide, they placing more confidence in their cauſe by theſe differences than in all other wayes beſides. This Sacramentarie controverſie kindled ſuch a fire in many Reformed Churches, that it even burnt them up, and turned them much aſide from that true edification which is in Chriſt, and in the practiſe of godlineſſe: And hath proved ſuch a laſting fire, that it is not quenched till this day (although thoſe Churches have had ſword, famine, and Peſtilence, to put it out.) Now in our dayes in this Kingdome, the chiefe queſtion is about the Church and the diſcipline of the Church, and our Controverſie may fitly be tearmed the Diſciplinary Controverſie, which however it differs from the Sacramentary in the ſubject matter, yet it is too like it in the manner, & way of it, being likely to bring forth as ſad births and fruites as did that? What? Is it not ſo, that we do ſee already (that I may ſpeake with *Hierome*) that our differences about the Church

Melch. Adam. vita Oecolamp. pag. 53.
Melch. Adam vit Bucer p. 213.
Melch. Ad. vit Toſan. pag. 702.
Mele. Ad vita Brent. pag 441.

Quid? nonne vident diſſidia noſtra eſſe amicorum diſpendia, hoſtium compendia, & publica iræ divinæ incendia.

and

and Discipline are the losse of friends, the gaine of enemies, and the publicke flames of Divine wrath? The great differences in this Kingdome about the Church and Discipline, are one of the saddest and greatest symptomes of Gods displeasure against us. These contentions and opinions make us forget the proper causes of God, and that maine building up of one another, which is in faith and love, so craftily doth that old Serpent know how to delude our ignorance; (as *Iunius* speakes upon a like case.) Oh there is such a fire kindled in this Kingdome about these points, that unlesse the Lord looke downe from Heaven, and graciously be pleased to quench it timely, it may hazzard the burning and consuming all. Now it is the duty of all the Sonnes of *Sion* to endeavour in their places, the putting out this fire, before it goe too farre, as by powring out buckets of teares and prayers before the Lord, so by all other good wayes, but especially of the Ministers of the Gospell by all meane, both by themselves and by stirring up of others to doe it. The serious consideration of which hath stirred up in me strong resolutions, to lay out my selfe (according to that measure of the gift of Christ bestowed upon me) for the healing of this schisme, and quenching this fire. Now the first borne of this kind (though not the first conceived) is this present Treatise against *Independant Government*, and the *Toleration* of it, which I here humbly present to this Honourable House, submitting it to your grave Judgements, and serious Considera-

Iunius Epist. Epist. land Hasf.

Adeo veteratoria hic antiquus draco imprudentiæ nostræ nititur illudere.

tions, humbly deſiring your Acceptance of it: Now the Reaſons moving me to take this boldneſſe, to Dedicate this Booke to your Honours, are theſe. Firſt, that great and generall liberty you grant of free acceſſe to your Honourable Houſe, unto all rankes of perſons, in this Kingdome, both by Petitions and Bookes. Secondly, that hereby I might take an occaſion to teſtifie my humble duty and thankefullneſſe unto, together with my high thoughts and eſtimation of this Honourable Houſe for all the Indefatigable paines and care beſtowed on the Publicke; Seeing that by You (under God, and the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty) I, and hundreds of my Brethren, enjoy ſo great quietneſſe and freedome in our Miniſteries, Eſtates, Perſons, (after ſo great a ſtorme) and that very worthy deeds are done, both to us, and to this Nation by your Providence, we accept it alwayes, and in all places, moſt Noble Patriots, with all thankfullneſſe, and here I offer to you the firſt fruites of my labours, as a laſting Monument of Gratitude. Thirdly, that by preſenting it to You, both my ſelfe and Booke might here take Sanctuary, and have your Protection againſt the many Calumnies and Reproaches which will be caſt upon us from that ſpirit of Separation. Neither flye I to this Honourable Houſe, as if I were conſcious to my ſelfe of any crimes or juſt grounds of ſuch revilings (for had I not Innocency and Integrity in my actions, and intentions, I durſt not preſent this Booke to this Juſt and Honourable Houſe, as knowing well you

you are a refuge onely for Innocent and oppreſſed perſons, and perſons who ſeeke the Publicke good) Or, as if I were not fore-armed to beare them; I know whom I ſerve in this worke, and that therefore, whoever doth willingly detract from my name, doth but adde to my reward; I know alſo tis a Royall priviledge for a man to beare ill when he hath done well, and I have long agoe given my backe to the ſmiters, and by the grace of Chriſt hope to beare all calumnies with much quietneſſe of ſpirit, having in part learned that leſſon to goe through bad report (even amongſt good men) as well as amongſt evill men, and to be counted an enemy (as *Paul* was) for telling the Truth; but I therefore preſent it to your Honours, and put it under your ſhadow, that ſo your Countenance and Acceptance of it (according as you finde it) may counter-ballance and weigh downe with all ſorts of men, the calumnies and cenſures caſt upon it, to hinder that good intended by it, and may the more commend the Worke to make it take with many for their ſatisfaction. Fourthly, I take this boldneſſe, that ſo I might have an opportunity, to move and ſtirre you up, moſt Noble Worthies, to put to your hands for the eately and timely compounding of this great Controverſie about the Church, and Church Government: When fires are begun in great Cities and Townes, or Tumults raiſed, the Fathers of Families, and the Citizens run to the Magiſtrates and Governours to acquaint them with the caſe, and to deſire their helpe, who having

Quiſquis volens detrahit famæ meæ, iſte auget meritedi meæ. Auguſtinus Regium eſt male audire cum bene feceris.

ving power to command both Men, Armes, Waters, Engines, buckets from every quarter, the fire is quickely out, and the peace setled. Now be pleased to suffer me to mind you of that which few or none doe, namely of our danger from errors on the right hand, the growing and spreading evill of this present time. Every one minds you by Petitions, Sermons, Bookes, concerning the Reformation of this Church, in Government, Ministery, Ceremonies, and worship; and God forbid that a word should ever fall from my mouth, or my pen draw a line, to call you off from it. Goe on strongly and fully in the worke of Reformation to purge this Church thorowly, and purely to take away all our drosse and tinne; cast out of the way all stumbling blocks, & gather out all things that offend, let nothing be left to hurt or to destroy in Gods holy mountaine; Break downe all Images and Crucifixes, throw downe all Altars, remove the High Places, breake to peeces the brazen Serpents, which have beene so abused to Idolatry and superstition, put out the unpreaching and scandalous Ministers, take a course for setting up good Pastors and Ministers in every Congregation, and in your great Wisdomes, and zeale be pleased to consider of wayes to provide oyle for all the Lampes of the Sanctuary; Goe on Comfortably (for God is with you, and the Ministers with sounding Trumpets of Ministery of Word and Prayer; and the people of God with you, covering you all over with earnest prayers, and and teares, as also with praises to God

for

for you) and be pleaſed to remember not to doe the worke of God by halves, or negligently. Perfect and thorow Reformation, will be your praiſe both with God and all good men, at home and abroad; and your zeale may provoke other Kingdomes, and States, and many will ariſe up and call you bleſſed, for the good Paſtors, and pure Ordinances that they ſhall enjoy. Tis the blemiſh of ſome of the good Kings that were reformers, as *Aſa* and *Iehoſaphat*; But nevertheleſſe the high places were not taken away. It was the praiſe of other Kings, that they were taken away, as of King *Hezekiah*. Perfect Reformation takes away all poſſibility and hopes from men, of bringing things backe againe; but an imperfect leaves both a ground-worke, and faire poſſibility upon any advantage or opportunity to returne: *Theodoret in* his *Eccle. hiſtorie* relates that *Theodoſius* that moſt faithfull Emperor, being fully ſet to overthrow the errors of the Gentiles, he made Lawes, by which he commanded that the Temples of the Images ſhould be puld downe. *Conſtantine* the great, with ſome other Emperours, who ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, forbad all Sacrifices and worſhips to the heathen gods, and their Images, and forbad any to come to their temples, but they did not demoliſh the temples & places wherin they were worſhipped; ſo that *Iulian* and *Valens*, Emperours who came after, did renew the impiety of the Gentiles, ſo that fire was kindled againe upon the Altars, and Sacrifices were offered to the Images: All which things when *Theo-*

2 King. c. ult. v. 43.
2 Chron. 15. v. 17.
2 King 18. v. 4.

Theod. hiſt. Eccle. l. 5. cap. 20.

doſim underſtood for certaine, hee did not onely ſhut up the Idols houſes, forbidding all to come to the Temples, but he did extirpate them by the rootes, and tooke care to have them buried in eternall oblivion. It was the ſaying of *Ziſca* the famous leader of the *Thaborites*, That the very neſts of the Storkes are to be puld downe, left they returne againe. And may it pleaſe this Honorable Houſe to purge us thoroughly, and the rather for this, becauſe the more perfect our Reformation is, according to the will of God, you ſhall by this lay the better and ſurer groundworke, for healing and compoſing the great ſchiſme, and diviſions riſen about the Church, and Church Government. But amidſt all your care and paines in this kinde, I beſeech you caſt an eye upon the errors and evills of the other hand, as Anabaptiſme, Browniſme, &c. and be pleaſed to take into your ſerious conſiderations the meanes and wayes how to hinder their growth, and ſo much the rather, in regard there is not now in this Kingdome (things ſtanding as they doe) ſo much danger of errors on the left hand. Popery, ſuperſtition, prophaneneſſe, have beene ſo diſcountenanced of late, ſo diſcovered, and their nakedneſſe laid ſo open, as that Altars, Images, preſſing of Ceremonies, and prophane Miniſters are falling of themſelves. Satan for this time hath even done with errors on the left hand, and their time is going out, growing like an Almanacke out of date. Any man who hath but halfe an Eye in his head, and

Diruendi ſunt etiam ipſi ciconiarum nidi ne redeant. Lavat. in Deuter.

and obſerves the courſe of things may ſee that errors on the right hand are now comming on the ſtage to take their turne alſo and to act their part; the Devill ſeeing he cannot effect his ends in the former wayes he went, he will now try others, as *Theodoret* ſpeaks in the caſe of *Neſtorius*, that Satan gave over moving againſt the Church by outward & manifeſt enemies, but came under the ſhow of the Orthodox, and in the habit of great ſtrictneſſe bewitching many & drawing the injudicious common people to a deſire after him. Satan is now transforming himſelfe from an Angell of darkneſſe into an Angell of light, and though hee muſt uſe other kind of inſtruments, and goe other waies, yet tis to bring about the ſame things, the upholding of his kingdome and the hindring of Gods, ſo that he will now labour to doe that by correcting and building up, which hee did before by perſecuting and pulling downe (as *Luther* ſpeakes.) In a word plainly to expreſſe my meaning, one extremitie (as many examples both antient and moderne teſtifie)(a) hath cauſed another, the Tyrannie of Epiſcopall government in ſome Biſhops hath brought forth the Democracie and Independencie, the violent preſſing of ſome pretended orders hath ſet many againſt all

Theod. Heret. Fab. lib. 4. de Neſt.

(a) *Neſtorius* ſpeaking againſt the perſonall union of the divine and humane nature of Chriſt: *Eutiches* fell into an error contrary, confounding the natures, that he would have the humane nature ſo ſwallowed up by the immenſitie of the divine nature in Chriſt, that there was not two natures in Chriſt, but one onely, to wit, the divine nature, *Evag. lib. 1. cap. 9.* So *Oſiander* broaching that error, that Chriſt was our mediatour only according to the divine nature, *Stancarus* oppoſing that fell into another error that Chriſt was mediator only according to the humane *Schluſſels de Stancar. pag. 27. &* Flacius Illyricus oppoſing *Strigelius* who made originall ſinne to be but a light kind of accident, he to aggravate the monſtruouſneſſe of originall ſinne, fell into that errour, that originall ſinne was the ſubſtance of a man, *Schluſſels: de ſectis Manic. pag. 4.*

order, and Satan ſeing hee cannot doe as he did, the times not favouring thoſe things, they being growne old, and even antiquated that every man is ready to hiſſe at them, hee now goes about by other waies, and if he can but effect what he is in a faire way for and what he hath begun in a great meaſure, he hath enough. Tis reported of the Fiſh called * *Polypus*, that it will be of the colour of that ſtone to which it cleaves, whether white or blacke, or any other: ſo will Satan be of that colour and that temper juſt that the men are of with whom he deales, and thē times are of. (For beſides this that Satan hath more wayes to kill Soules and advance his deſignes then one, as when he cannot have his will by perſecution, then he will attempt it by ſchiſme and ſowing diviſion amongſt miniſters (as *Nazianzen* ſheweth:) Satan will in time bring about the ſame things though in another way, for Independancie will bring againe what now it would caſt out, namely libertiniſme, prophaneneſſe, errors, and will by ſome removes bring many men to be of no religion at all. Be pleaſed moſt worthy Senators to let me tell you that the greateſt ſort of erroneous ſpirits with all unſtable and wanton witted men, will be much for Independant Government and Tolerations, and be to their uttermoſt againſt Synods & ſetled Government: Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptiſts, Separatiſts, how different ſoever in other principles, yet will agree in this; Independancie will both breed them, and being bred will foſter them. And however in many men

Polypus petræ cui adhæſit colorem referens. Nazianz: de ſe ipſo.

Greg: Naz ad epiſcop.

who bee principall actors in this way of Independancie, the dangers and evills may not so appeare for the present, there being many things in most of the Ministers lovely, which the more commends this way, yet wise men, such as this Honourable house consists of, looke upon things and judge of them not onely as they are for the present, but as they may be hereafter, and accordingly setle things; that being the great principle Legislators goe by, to presume that men may degenerate, and things will be abused, and therefore so to provide that they may not. All errors commonly be best at first, most modest then, and the first Authors of errors be commonly the best and fairest. Ecclesiasticall History mentions that the *Novatian* errors did more hurt in the fourth Centurie then in the third wherein it was first broached. The followers of *Novatus* did adde many other errors to his, as *Theodoret* relates. *Arminius* was more candid, and lesse erroneous then his followers, they having much improved the points, as some Divines have shewed. Be pleased therefore to give me leave to stirre you up to lay these schismes and divisions to heart, (the divisions of *Reuben* being great thoughts of heart) and in your great wisedomes early to find out meanes and remedies to heale the great rents about the Church and Church Government, and to hinder the further increase of this way: God hath called you together, and continued you for this worke amongst the rest; Noble Patriots doe your parts, and what in you lyes to conclude of some speedy

Theod. lib. 3. Haeret. Fabul.

Parvus error in initio fit magnus in fine, negligenda non sunt parva initia, ex quibus paulatim majores fiunt accessiones.

dy way and courſe for ſetling theſe differences. Tis the praiſe of *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* that by the helpe of a Councell they did indeavour timely to ſuppreſſe the errors of *Novatus*. And in the meane while till Church Government be ſetled, whether it be not neceſſary to provide by ſome meanes againſt the ſpreading of this ſect, and the meetings of theſe ſeparated Aſſemblies, I leave it to your great wiſedomes to conſider, leſt otherwiſe wee be overgrowne with Anabaptiſme, Browniſme and ſuch like. And I humbly crave leave to tell you, that delayes in this kind will prove very dangerous, many falling to that way daily, and others by continuance will be ſo accuſtomed to it, that it will be harder to regaine them: Beſides the Independants ly at the catch and advantage of delaies, all their hopes and ſtrength ſtanding in this, that it will be long before there be a Synod, or before the Church Government be ſetled, hoping that in the interim whilſt things ſtand betweene two, and are unſetled, they may both gather and increaſe their Churches, and make their party more conſiderable; and there is juſt ground to thinke they are not wanting to endeavour by ſome inſtruments how to effect it: The hand of *Ioab* is ſometimes where tis not dreamt of. I could preſent this Honourable Houſe with a ſad relation of the ſtate of things both in the City and Countrey in reſpect of errors on the right hand, as alſo beſpeake You by the teares & feares of all the godly & painfull Miniſters of this Church of *England*: But I know

I ſpeake to the wiſe, and to them who are deeply ſenſible; and tis time for me to take off my hand leſt the porch be too large for the houſe. Now the good will of him that dwelt in the buſh reſt upon your heads; The Lord hide you from the counſells and plots of wicked men, and from the raging diſeaſes of the time, making you more and more his hidden ones; He make you more and more his choſen & ſanctified ones to fulfill all his mind and to doe his whole worke both againſt all hereſie and ſchiſme, both errors on the left hand and right; Hee double and treble upon you all that ſpirit of wiſedome, counſell, might, and unanimitie, which former Parliaments ever had. The Lord ſet your feet upon a rock, and eſtabliſh your goings; He give you an unwearied ſpirit to goe on without fainting, till there be a perfect ſetling of peace in Church and Common-wealth, and till the worke of reformation ſo happily begun be finiſhed. And the Lord recompence into your boſomes ſeven-fold in bleſſings both temporall, ſpirituall, and eternall, all your worke and labour of love which yee have ſhewed towards his name, and towards this Kingdome. And ſo humbly laying my ſelfe, and theſe poore endeavours at your feet, I reſt

Your Honours moſt

devoted ſervant

Thomas Edwards.

The Printer to the Reader.

Good Reader ſome ſheetes not beeing ſeene by the Author till they were Printed off, hath cauſed more Errata, both in words and points, than otherwiſe would have been. The moſt materiall are here Corrected, be thou pleaſed to mend the reſt as thou readeſt.

PAg. 1. line 18. for elections read election, p. 2. l. 6. for v. 24. r. v. 21. p. 5. l. 10. r. much. p. 7. in the margent for *quæ* r. *Ad*, p. 7. l. 29. for had r. have, p. 8. l. 2, for offices r. officers, p. 9. l. 6. dele comma at Teacher, p. 14. l. 8. r. commanded, p. 16 l. 32. r. broken, p. 17 l. 17. read geſtures, p. 22. l. 36. adde as, p. 25. l. 12. dele comma after power, p. 29. l. 8. r. combine. p. 30. l. 4. dele out of his hands, for put r. given, l. 9. for ſo as it may not, r. ſo as if it might not p. 32. l. 29. dele the, p. 34. for Reaſ. 10. r. Reaſ. 11. p. 35. l. 13. r. ſpring. p. 37. l. 26. dele full point at Reaſons, p. 39. l. 25. read ordinances, p. 41. l. 23. r. being for is. p. 45. l. 19. after Church, r. as many Scriptures ſhow. p. 45. l. 22. parentheſis after it, & not yet, p. 45. l. 24. one r. ſome, p. 48. l. 6. for heare r. heard, p. 49. l. 1. for charge r. change, l. 3. for ſeldome r. ſeldomer, p. 50. l. 23. after body dele comma p. 52. l. 28. dele the, p. 54. l. 4. r. apprehenſions, l. 6. r. then, l. 17. for what, r. which in the margent r. *poſtremum*, p. 54. l. 24. for three Reaſons, r. third Reaſon.

The Introduction.

INtending fully by the helpe of God, (with all possible speed) to publish severall Tractates against the whole way of the Separation, for the healing of that great Schisme, sprung up of late in this Church, I thought good for the present necessity, to set forth these few and short Reasons, (more time being required to review, transcribe, and Print larger Treatises.) Now that which first moved me to the drawing up of these Reasons, both against Independant Government, and against the Toleration of it, was the credible information given me of some Petitions drawne, to be presented to the Honourable House of Commons, for a Toleration of some Congregations, to enjoy an Independant Government, and to be exempt from the Government which shall be established by Law: Now though, I believe, hope, and pray daily, that God will keepe that Honourable House from ever giving any Countenance, much lesse granting any such Petitions, yet considering how many there are of that way, some inhabiting in this Kingdome, others, who are come over into England

on purpose, being sent as Messengers of their Churches to negotiate in that behalfe; and observing how diligently and close they follow it, by daily attending at Westminster, by insinuating themselves into the company of sundry Members of the House of Commons, by Preaching often at Westminster, the more to ingratiate themselves and their cause; Printing also their desire of a Toleration for Independant Government, and that with casting of dirt upon the Reformation and Government of this Nationall Church, whatever it may be (as witnesse the Protestation Protested:) I, a Minister of the Gospel, and a Sufferer for it these many yeares last past, being one who desires as free a passage of the Gospel, and as through a Reformation, according to the will of God, as any of them; have thought it my duty, that I might discharge a good Conscience to God, and to the Kingdome, to Print these Reasons at this time, that so when any of those Petitions come to be propounded in the House of Commons, under specious pretences and faire pretexts, there may by these Reasons appeare a Snake under the greene grasse: Neither speake I this as if I would intimate, that that Honorable House could be taken with colours, and faire glasses; I know that great Body is so full of wisdome, and so Eagle eyed, that they can both see into, and foresee a farre off, the many evills and mischiefes of Independancy and Tolerations. But I suppose these Reasons may have their use among some, to furnish them the more with grounds against such Petitions, for satisfying also scruples instilled by the Independant men into some others; as also to demonstrate to the Petitioners, the unreasonableness of their demands: My

aime

aime therefore is, by this following discourse, humbly to crave leave to enter in the Honourable House of Commons a Caveat, both against Independant Government of Particular Congregations, *and against their* Toleration; *and to present to the House a Writ of* Ne admittas, *fetcht out from the Court of Heaven, and from the Records of Holy Scripture.*

Reasons

Reasons Against THE Independant government OF Particular Congregations.

Reason. I.

THE Churches gathered and constituted by the Apostles, watered by Evangelists and Prophets, and after planting and watering, having Pastors and Teachers, with all other Officers, as they say, set over them by the Apostles and their owne Elections: Yet it is evident these Churches could not well stand nor subsist of themselves with all these Officers, but many of them had beene much indangered, and subject to have beene ruined, if some others besides

these Churches and Officers had not upon occasions interposed and that authoratively, as the Apostles, Evangelists, and Elders of other Churches, as doth appeare by the *Acts of the Apostles*, and by many Epistles, as to *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Colossians*, *Timothy*, *Titus*: 15. *Acts*: 2. *Cor.* 12. *Chap.* 20. *ver.* 24. 2. *Cor.* 13. *Chap.* 1. 2. 10. *vrr.* The particulars whereof I shall evince more largely hereafter. Now if these Primitive Churches who had all the officers, and were setled by the Apostles in all poynts according to Christs order, yet in those times could not doe well Independantly, how can wee thinke that any particular congregation in these times (which cannot be so setled having no Apostles nor any infallible men to direct them) can doe well without dependancie? And though it will be said these extraordinary Officers be now ceased, yet let them consider whether there is not need of some way to supply this want to the particular Churches now: But if it be said that the ordinary Officers of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, with the body of the Congregation will suffice for the governing every particular congregation Independantly; To that I answer according to their Principles, In the Apostles times there were all these Officers in particular Congregations, and setled in a perfect way, and yet for all this, particular Churches needed a dependancy upon Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, and Presbyters of other Churches, and *Timothie*, and *Titus* are set over the Church of *Ephesus* and *Crete*: now though some of these be ceased, and so this power may be ceased, as it was in particular men, yet that the Congregations should not need it now in these times as well as then, no solid Reason can be given, but there is much more reason for it now, which therefore must bee in some other way, be it Synods and Councels, to supply the defects of each particular, by the Conjunction of the whole, the whole helping every part, and supplying what is lacking to it; and this reason hath the more strength

strength in it, if we consider that the Churches in the Apostles times were Churches in Cities, it being all one to say in every City, or in every Church, 1 *Tit.* 5. 14. *Act.* 23. which Churches also had good store of Preaching Ministers amongst them, as appeares by *Acts* 13. v. 1. *Act.* 20. v. 36, 37. Compared with *ver.* 28. So that in all cases of Doctrine and Discipline, having many Ministers to resolve and determine matters, and to have carryed them with the more gravity and authority, they might have subsisted the better Independantly, whereas most particular Congregations now have but few Ministers, one or two, nay, according to their Principles there may be none, nor no Officer at all, and yet these Congregations must be Independant, having all power and government Independantly, before Officers as well as after.

Reason. II.

THat Governement and power which causes men to runne upon the manifest violation of the constant practice and example of the Churches during all the time of the Apostles, and puts Churches upon practices that are absurd, unreasonable and prejudiciall to the good of their Soules, that government is not of divine institution, nor to be received: but such is the Independant power, and government of particular Congregations: The *major* is of undoubted Truth, and will be denyed by none, for the *minor* I will prove it in these following Instances.

First, their Independancy forces them either to have Ministers and Officers without being ordained, contrary to the practice and examples of the Churches all along in the New Testament, as the 6. *Acts* v. 6. 14. *Act.* 23. No man ever being an ordinary Officer in the Church, without Ordination, let them produce one

instance if they can: hence the most learned Divines in reformed Churches tell us, that no man ought to be admitted to an ordinary function in the Church unlesse they be lawfully called, and that lawfull calling stands in Ordination as well as Election: But because these may be rejected by them, let us heare one of their owne, namely Master *Robinson*, speaking, Thou art not a Pastor but by a lawfull Calling: Thou art called a Pastor (that is elected, and ordained) or else if their Officers be ordained, it is by the people, even by such who are not in office, which is expresly against the constant practise of all the Churches in the New Testament, as appeares by the 6. *Acts* 6. 14. *Acts* 23. 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. 1 *Tit.* 5. and it can never be showne in all the New Testament, that the people ever attempted any such thing; thus *Zanchius* showes that this is to be observed in Scriptures, although election of Ministers was made by the whole Church, yet hands were never imposed but by the Ministery and Presbytery, this is cleare in the *Acts* & Epistles of *Paul*: and the people cannot do it, because the lesse is blessed of the greater, & they who lay hands on and make Ministers, should be greater in place and Authority & not lesse, as the common People be: and though it be granted (as *Cameron* speakes) that an equall may make and ordaine an equall, yet he who is an Inferior, cannot a Superior. And thus to maintaine Independancy they breake the Ordinance of God, and violate that Order & constant way of the calling of Ministers Recorded in the Word. And I desire them but to consider in the feare of God, what Master *Robinson* writes in the fourth Chapter of his Apology, and I know they must forsake their *Helena* of Independancy upon this reason, (and all the shifts they have under Heaven about Ordination cannot helpe them) Tis Religion in me (saith *Robinson*) to depart though but a little from the practice and Institutions of the Apostles (excepting alwayes extraordinary things) in any thing that is truely Eccles-

Zanch. in 4. pr. p. 777. 778.
Calv. Instit. lib. 4. c. 3. Sect. 11. 16.
Rob. Apol. ca. 1. 18.
Zanch. in 4. pr. 786.
Calv. lib. 4. c. 3. sect. 16.
Cameron dic eccle. p. 27.
Robinson Apol. c. 4. de presb. eccles. p. 47.

Eccleſiaſticall, though never ſo ſmall, what things ſoever, by whom ſoever, or under what colour ſoever they be invented: Now Ordination cannot be held extraordinary and temporary, neither is it by them, and tis held to be an Eccleſiaſticall thing alſo, and certainely none of the leaſt among Eccleſiaſticalls, in matter of order and *decorum*, there being not any one thing concerning matters of Order, that hath ſo cleere and conſtant practice as this; I am ſure all their whole frame of Church and Diſcipline, hath not ſo much ground in the Word for it as this, namely, that Miniſters ought to be Ordained, and that by Miniſters of the Word. So *Calvin*, although there be no expreſſe precept concerning the impoſition of hands, yet becauſe we ſee it was in perpetuall uſe by the Apoſtles, the ſo accurate obſervation of it by them ought to be to us inſtead of a command. So *Zanchius* ſpeaking of Impoſition of hands in ordination, ſaith thus, that this in many places is rejected, together with other ceremonies, I never approved nor can approve. I know there is no expreſſe precept concerning this thing but notwithſtanding I would have the examples of the Apoſtles, and the ancient Church more to be eſteemed of, yea they ought to be to us inſtead of a command: and in another place he ſpeakes, tis certaine, tis not a vaine ceremony but the holy Spirit is preſent, and to performe thoſe things inwardly, which are ſignified by this outward Rite: And yet if Ordination were but a very little thing, but a Ceremony, the eſſence of calling, ſtanding in Election, and that but the conſummation of it, nothing but the ſolemne introduction of the Miniſter into the free execution of his calling, yet if Maſter *Robinſon* may be believed, and your ſelves in other little things, we muſt not depart from Chriſts way, or goe any other way, in things concerning his houſe and Officers than he hath directed, and yet behold in this either Miniſters are not called according to the ſcripture wanting that part of their calling, namely Ordination, or

Calv. Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 3. ſect. 16.

Zanch. in 4. pr. 786, 787. p.

Ames. lib. 1. cap. 49.

else, if they be, it is in another way than the Apostles or Churches of Christ ever practised, behold how this Independancy causes men to depart farre from the practice of the Apostles. And I desire they would show for what reason *Paul* left *Titus* at *Crete*, to make Ministers in every City, if Ordination were not necessary for all Ministers of the Gospell under the New Testament, or if being necessary, it might be performed to Ministers by the people without Officers: *Titus* might have beene imployed better to have gone along with *Paul*, Preaching and helping to convert others, and might have well left the Churches in *Crete*, either to have had Ministers without Ordination, or else left the People to Ordaine them.

Secondly, this Independancy causes them to fall upon practises absurd and unreasonable, as namely either their Ministers must not first be examined tryed and known for their gifts and abilities before they be made, which is contrary to the Scriptures, 1 *Tim.* 3.v.10. they must first be proved, and if it hold in Deacons, much more in the Ministers of the Word, and of this they may read *Zanchius*, *Calvin*, *Amesius*, and generally all Divines, or they must be judged of by the people. Now how can the people three or foure visible Saints, or more, joyned into a Church, examine and try the learning, gifts, soundnesse of men for the Ministry, who are themselves ignorant in all kind of Learning, and may be weake and injudicious? it is against the light of Nature and right reason that learned men should be examined and discovered for their abilities by them who skill not those things, and are far below them in knowledg; we see in all Arts and Sciences, men are examined and tryed by them of their owne Arts and callings, and not by others, who have no knowledge in them: So *Zanchius* giving reasons of the necessity of examination before ordination, comes to propound by whom this examination is to be, to which he answers; By him who is judged to be indued with

Zanchius in 4. Præcpt. p. 784.
Amesius lib. pr. medul. cap. 39.

Question.

with the greatest measure of the Spirit, having also other Presbyters present, who are learned and pious: *Paul* would therefore have *Timothy* to know them well who are to be ordained, for examination belongs to the most skilfull, and they who are of most Authority. But these visible Saints, the Church being oft times weake, injudicious, meane, for parts and education, apt to be turned quickly, and taken with faire shewes and good expressions, may and doe chuse, weake, ignorant, unfit men for Pastours and Elders, whereby the Church may be led into errors, kept in a low estate, so as they cannot grow up in grace and knowledge, as becomes a Church of Christ; there may be also all barbarousnesse and disorder for want of gifts in government in these weake Officers, all which tends to the prejudice and hazard of the Soules; hence this is given as the great reason by Divines of the examination of Ministers before Ordination and that to be by learned and able men, because as there is nothing more profitable to the Church then good Pastors, so nothing more pernitious then bad and unlearned Ministers. Secondly, suppose they might chuse well, namely able men both for parts and soundnesse in the faith, and it were lawfull also for the people to ordaine, yet it may so fall out (according to their principles of a Church) that these visible Saints cannot Ordaine Officers, as having no gifts of prayer for publicke, especially not able to conceive prayers, concerning the action in hand, namely, the Ordination of a Minister, neither had they any gifts to make publicke exhortations and admonitions to the Pastor of his duty, nor be able to know what to say to him, at the admission of him into his Office: What shall be done now? shall the worke be staid, and the Church want a Minister till she be able to doe these workes and duties? They may for ought can be said, be long, nay ever without Ministers, and so without Preaching of the Word and Sacraments, which cannot but be very prejudiciall to their Salvation:

Zanch. in 4. pr. p. 784. quod peritiores igitur pertinet examinatio & qui plus habeant authoritatis.

Zanch in 4 pr. p. 784.

But

But to grant them that which needes not be granted according to their principles, that this Church ſhall have ſome Offices, as ſuppoſe a ruling Elder, yet when a Paſtor is to be choſen, theſe Elders who have a gift in government, may not be able nor competent to try and examine the gifts and parts of a Paſtor: nay yeeld them to have a Paſtor, and the Church would now chuſe a Teacher, one ſingle Paſtor though able in his gift of Exhortation and application may not be ſo able to try the gifts requiſite to a Teacher, whoſe gifts muſt be for expoſition and controverſies to preſerve pure Doctrine: Hence *Ameſius* ſpeaking of calling of Miniſters to a Church, ſaith that here is need of direction and helpe of Presbyters both of the ſame Church, and for the moſt part of the Neighbour Churches. But if he were able to try and examine, yet how ſhall this Teacher be ordained, there being but one Miniſter, if Miniſters of Neighbour Churches may not joyne alſo? conſider if they doe not fall into that which they complaine againſt in the Epiſcopacy, namely for one man to have the ſole power of Ordination: So that by all theſe particulars you may ſee the Aſſumption proved.

Ameſ. lib. pri. cap. 39.

Reaſon. III.

TIs not to be thought that Chriſt would inſtitute ſuch a government of his Church which affords no helpe, nor allowes no way or remedy, no not for one time or *prima vice*, for innocent perſons that are wronged, but where being no place for appeales the parties oppreſſing muſt be the ſole Judges of the cauſe. It is counted an unequall, unreaſonable thing, in governements, that parties ſhould be judges at all, much leſſe the ſole, and that there ſhould be no way for perſons oppreſſed to be righted. But now in this Independant Church Government, there is no reliefe, no not at firſt, for

for injured perſons, nor way of appeale to others who be not parties to heare their cauſe and determine; here onely parties are Judges and no others may be admitted: As for inſtance, in one of their congregations, the greateſt number of that Church (as it doth and may oft fall out) is againſt the Paſtor or Teacher, and ſome other members upon a difference in ſome points of doctrine, and being the greater number, the Elders alſo taking part with them, they proceed moſt unjuſtly to cenſures of deprivation and excommunication; Now if all the power lye independantly in this particular Church, ſo as there may be no other as Synods to appeale unto, to heare the cauſe and right them, this Miniſter and brethren thus cenſured muſt lye under theſe oppreſſions without all remedy, and be debarred from the ordinances of Chriſt without helpe; what remedy there is in ſuch caſes as this we deſire them to ſhew us, and that ſuch caſes as this may not, and doe fall out, cannot be denyed: Now that Chriſt ſhould inſtitute ſuch a governement in his Church, where 'tis unlawfull for any but parties properly ſo termed to be ſole Judges, and where there is no poſſibility of redreſſe for the innocent in caſes of injury which may and do ordinarily fall out, is not a thing to be imagined by reaſonable men; 'tis ſpoken of by theſe men for a ſtrange practiſe in the Biſhops that they ſhould be Judges in their owne cauſe and give votes in it (though yet there be beſides them, three times their number of voyces in the houſe of Lords) how much more unreaſonable may they judge it in their way of Church governement, where parties who are Judges be greater in number, ſo that I may ſpeake of the Independancy of their Congregations as *Cameron* ſpeakes of the popular government of their Congregations *. It is not credible that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is both King of Righteouſneſſe and King of Peace would have government to be in this way, which hath no meanes nor way for Righteouſneſſe nor peace in his

* *Cameron. Non eſt credibile dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum (qui non eſt perturbationis & confuſionis author ſed ordinis) voluiſſe Judicia eſſe penes plebem, qua vel ob imperitiam rerum vel ob affectuum perturbationem accipere debet; non dare leges, & judicium ſubire, non ferre. Dic Eccleſ pag. 21.*

Church; besides the practice of the Church of *Antioch* (recorded in Scripture for our example) is against it, and gives us ground for appeale to others out of that Church, and not to have the parties the Judges, *Acts* 15. 1,2. because the dissention and disputation was betweene *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and them of *Judea*, who taught Circumcision; therefore, the Church of *Antioch* thought it not fit that *Paul* and *Barnabas* should determine and end it, but sent to others, Apostles and Elders, who were not parties against them of *Judea*, and they shall determine for them all: Else had not the dissention and disputation beene betweene *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and certaine of *Judea*, and that in the particular Church of *Antioch*, they were able to have determined it without sending to *Jerusalem*, but the Church judged it unequall, that they who were the parties in the controversie should be the Judges.

Reason. IV.

THe light and Law of Nature with right reason is against the Independancy of particular Churches, dictating & leading us to dependancy, a subordination and a consociation in government. In all societies and bodies it is thus by the dictates of Nature, and it is found necessary amongst bodies naturall, and bodies politicke, that the severall parts and particular members doe joyne in one for the good of the whole, and that the whole being greater then a part, the severall parts should be subject to, and ordered by the whole: as in a mans body, the foote, though it hath its proper use and operation, is dressed, lanched and ordered, not by it selfe, but by the hands and eyes: In Cities and great Townes, though there be severall Companies who have Orders and Government among themselves in some particulars, yet they are in subordination, and in

in a consociation with greater assemblies, in more high and difficult cases for the preservation of the whole: In Common wealths and Kingdomes, though severall Cities, Townes, Counties, have Courts, and their particular governments, yet all these Courts are subordinated to higher, and all these joyne and are consociated together in some chosen one of all, as in Parliaments: In Schooles of learning there be severall Colledges and Houses who have Masters and Officers of their owne, yet there is a consociation of the chiefe of all these, for the government of the whole: In armies there be severall Companies and Regiments who have their distinct Captaines and Officers, and yet upon great assaults, exploits, they are conjoyned all in one, and have a councell of warre out of severall Regiments, to advise and determine upon waighty occasions: Particular Shippes have their owne Masters, and Pilots, and provisions, and yet all joyne into one Navy, for the safety of the whole: At first Families had all power and governement within their owne walls, but when they encreased (though Families have power still of correction, food) yet they joyned to be governed by Magistrates, and ruled in greater cases of life and death and goods: Why should not this hold then, & be lawfull in the Church, in greater and waightier matters? especially seeing themselves affirme that their Churches are Bodies, Spirituall Corporations, Cities, Families, Armyes. The Church is a most free Corporation Spirituall: and doe inferre many of their practices from this, that their Churches are bodies and societies, and therefore it must be, as it is with Corporations, and bodies Politicke, they must choose their owne Ministers, the Ministers can onely Preach authoritatively in their owne Congregation, as the Magistrate of *Leyden* can onely administer his publicke Office at *Leyden*, and not at *Delph*. Every particular member must enter into covenant with the Church, when admitted a member,

See Syms prerog. p. 21. Robinsons Catechisme.

Rob. Apol. cap. 1. p. 10.

becauſe when men are admitted into a body, or ſociety civill, they make not onely a Covenant, but doe often adde thereto an Oath. Themſelves teach alſo, that as Church Diſcipline is to be learned from the plaine and perfect Word of God: ſo in ſuch particulars as are common to the Church with other ſocieties, it is to be directed by the light of Nature, the Church obſerving alwayes the generall Rules of the Word, and ſo this is brought as the maine ground for their Church covenant (though there be neither precept not practice of it, in the Word) namely the Lawes and rules of Nature which doe run along with, and are alike common to things Spirituall and Humane, ſo farre as both are found to agree in one common nature together, for as when God made ſpeaking to men in a publique aſſembly (as is that of preaching or prophecying) a ſacred Ordinance inſtantly did all the Lawes of Nature, and right reaſon that ſerve to regulate and conveniently concurre to all orderly ſpeeches and Orations of men in publique made, they did all fall upon this Ordinance alſo, as to ſpeake aloud, not to ſpeake two or three at once, &c. So ſay I in this point, when God required governement and Diſcipline in his Church, thoſe rules and practices of governments, which according to the light of Nature and right reaſon are in common-wealthes and ſocieties were warranted for the Diſcipline of the Church, eſpecially the Church obſerving the generall rules of edification, order, peace, &c. which Synods, and Counſells apparently tend to, ſo that I may affirme of dependancy (as is ſaid by them of their Church covenant) it is ſo farre from being any thing above that which is written, that it rather comes within the compaſſe of the Apoſtle, it needed not at all to have beene written 1 *Theſ.* 4. 9. Ye are taught of God in a Law Spiritualized, who alſo hath full roundly taught us to acknowledge, if we be ſpirituall, yea but reaſonable, ſuch dictates of Nature, and right reaſon in things

Manuſ of Coven. ſent from Holland.

Examination of Prelates petition, *p* 38.

Manuſ. of Coven ſent from Holland.

things wherein Divine Ordinances and Humane doe alike partake in common, to be no leſſe then the commands of God. It is aſſerted by ſome Divines of *Scotland*, that in all ſuch things as are alike common to the Church, and to the Common-wealth, and have the ſame uſe in both, whatſoever Natures light directeth the one, it cannot but direct the other alſo; for as the Church is a company of Chriſtians ſubject to the Law of God, ſo is it a company of men and women, who are not the outlawes of Nature, but followers of the ſame. And hence it is *Ameſius* ſhowes that the light of Nature requires, that particular Churches may and ought to combine in Synods, for things of greater moment: So then to conclude this reaſon, and that *ex conceſſis*, the God of Nature and Reaſon hath not left in his Word a governement againſt the light of Nature and right reaſon, but ſuch is the Independent Government, as hath beene ſhowne at large.

Vide Aſſert. of the Church of Scotland, p. 154, 155, 156.

Lib pr. med. Theol. cap. 39.

Reaſon. V.

THere be many Rules and Commands in the Scripture, beſides the equity and Analogy of ſome practiſes and examples which doe require the combination of Churches in Synods, ſo *Ameſius* confeſſes: The rules and commands be ſuch as theſe, *Let all things be done to edification, let all things be done decently, and in Order*, 1 *Cor.* 14. 26. 40. *ver. Follow after the things which make for Peace, Rom.* 14. 19. So *Philip.* 4. 8. *verſ.* Now if all things in the Churches muſt be done to edification, comely, and in order, and for peace, then certainely Church governement muſt. But Synods are found to be for edification, for Peace, and order, as things of good report and juſt, as a ſpeciall remedy for preventing, and healing diviſions, which is not, nor cannot be in the Independant Government, but many caſes fall

Med. Theolo. lib. 1 cap. 39.

out where there is no other remedy but ſeparation, ſeparation being indeed the remedy of Separation. It is confeſſed by themſelves that this is a ſafe and prudentiall way. Now a thing may be commanded by God two wayes, either by vertue of a generall command, or by vertue of a particular command, and that is commanded, and ought to be practiſed, which is required by a generall precept as well as what is command by a particular, and there are many particulars to be practiſed by vertue of a generall precept, having no other foundation, eſpecially when they are found by common experience to be ſo. The practiſes and examples following, are ſuch as theſe, 1 *Cor.* 14. 32. *The ſpirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*: Now if the ſpirits of the Prophets in a particular Congregation, muſt be ſubject to the cenſure of the reſt in that Church, then by way of equity and Analogy, they are to be ſubjected to a greater company, namely, to the judgement of all the Prophets, in a Province or Nation: Thus *Paul*, though an Apoſtle, ſeekes to win credit and obedience, even to thoſe Orders, which hee eſtabliſhed by the example and judgement of other Churches, 1 *Cor.* 14. 33. 1 *Cor.* 11. 16. The equity of which is, that the Orders agreed upon by the conſent of many Churches, are of great force and authority to bind: ſo *Paul*, though an Apoſtle, ſubmitted to the practice of what was agreed upon by the common conſent of *James*, and all the Elders of *Jeruſalem*, (though in the practice of Jewiſh and legall ceremonies) *Acts* 21. from the 18. *ver.* to the 27. *ver.* Thus in a caſe of great diſſention, and diſputation in the Church of *Antioch*, *Acts* 15. 1, 2. *ver.* Why did that Church ſend to *Jeruſalem* for reſolution in that difficult caſe to be determined, and bound by the decrees and Orders of the Apoſtles and Elders in that Synod, and were not bound, nor determined by their owne Church onely? (eſpecially having two ſuch excellent men with them as *Barnabas* and *Paul*, whoſe judge-



judgement they might have rested upon) Surely this was done for this end, to teach us that divers Churches in difficult cases ought to meete by their Ministers and some choise men to determine of matters for those Churches, according to the Word, to which all those Churches should submit. Neither will it helpe them to say this was extraordinary (for what Synod can say, it seemeth good to us and the holy Ghost? and those decrees bound them who were not present) Not to answer these exceptions now, but reserving the answer to a larger Tractate upon this subject; grant it that something in this Synod was singular and extraordinary, yet this was not for one Church to send to another, and that to their ordinary Officers the Elders, *Acts* 15. 2. *ver.* to this end that by common consent difficult cases might be determined and enjoyned upon particular Churches by more than their owne Church, for this must needs be Ordinary, and so binding, being an example founded upon rules of common equity, reason, and communion of Churches, and not upon temporary or extraordinary grounds, and that appeares thus (for unlesse it were to teach the succeeding Churches this, and to be a ground for Synods, and Dependancy in Government, in cases of difference and difficulty, there could be no other great use nor end of it, for as for the satisfying of the question, and resolving the case, *Paul* alone being at *Antioch*, one who was immediately and infallibly inspired by the Spirit, was able of himselfe to have satisfyed that controversie about Circumcision, much more *Barnabas* being with him and others in that Church.

Reason. VI.

THe Government of the Church by Synods, is no where forbidden by God in the New Testament, nor

nor ſpoken againſt, either directly, or by conſequence (as they ſay) is for one man to have the power, *Luk.* 22. 25. 26. *ver.* For though no one Miniſter, as ſome ſay, be greater than another, yet all are greater than one or a few. In Synods here is no erecting or appointing of an Officer or office in the Church, which Chriſt hath not appointed (*which is the exception made againſt Epiſcopacy*) but here are onely the Officers appointed by Chriſt and that forme of government, which is appointed by Chriſt in his Church, namely, *Ariſtocraticall*, here is no varying of the forme of Church government from Ariſtocraticall to Monarchicall; (as they ſpeake of Epiſcopacy) but the government by Synods is moſt Ariſtocraticall, whereas the Independant way for the moſt part is but onely Oligarchicall, having but a few Officers in a Church, or elſe Democraticall, if put into the body of the Congregation: now where there is no Law forbidding, there is no tranſgreſſion, for ſinne is a tranſgreſſion of the Law, 1 *John* 3. 4. And ſuch actions the Church may lawfully doe, wherein no Law of God is broken, as is confeſſed by themſelves, in the fifth Argument of *Syons* Prerogative. But here is no Law broke, this never being ſpoken againſt, nor liable to thoſe exceptions put in by them againſt Epiſcopacy, but found agreeable to the Law and light of Nature concerning ſocieties, to generall rules in the word of edification, order, peace, pureneſſe, lovelineſſe, &c. to examples alſo and practiſes in Scripture; and what though there be not an expreſſe precept or a command in *terminis* for it, yet not being againſt Scriptures but ſo agreeable to it (as appeares by all before ſaid) no ſober godly Miniſter or Chriſtian ſhould refuſe Communion with a Church or ſubmiſſion to it, and go and ſet up a Church, againſt a Church, and foment a ſchiſme for that: for if they will doe ſo, and will not goe upon generall rules, equity of Examples, light of Nature and reaſon, they muſt forſake being fixed members of any particular congregation

pag. 11.

gregation, and forsake all Churches in the Independant way, and professedly joyne themselves to no Assembly in the exercise of Instituted worship, because they must practice as great matters concerning externall government and worship of what ever Church or government they be of, as this is; namely the Association of Churches. Let them produce a particular word for the order of Gods Worship, what must be performed first, what second, what third, what fourth, and so of the rest, and that no ordinance nor part of Worship may be in another Order; Let them (if they can) show a particular Word or rule in the New Testament for their Church covenant (which yet is an essentiall point, namely, the forme of the Church) let them produce what is required in the word particularly, as the forme of excommunication, or as the forme of Ordination, let them set downe the outward worship and gesture of the externall reverence which must be used, and no other way, in the severall Ordinances of God, as Word, Prayer, singing of Psalmes, reading Scriptures, Baptisme, Lords Supper, Excommunication, which if they cannot (as we know they are not able, neither in these nor many other things which may be named) let them then learne that many things in government and Discipline, have but generall rules with equity of practices, and if they will not joyne, nor have to doe in Church Government, and Discipline, till they have particular commands to walke thus and no otherwise, they shall stay long enough, and be of no Church.

Reason. VII.

THis consociation and combination in way of Synods is granted by themselves, as lawfull and expedient in sundry cases and particulars. As that one Church being required, ought to give an account to

others, and to be content that matters of difference and importance should be heard by other Churches, as also to be advised and counselled by other Churches, to have also doctrines that are questionable, tryed, and judged of by Synods, to be admonished, and to be reproved also in case they deserve it; and in case they will not amend, and reforme, upon admonitions and reproofes of Synods and Assemblies, then they are to be complained of to the Civill Magistrate, that he may doe his duty: For this see Christ on his Throne, *vid. pag.* 32. *examin.* of *Prelat. petition. Sions Prerog. pag.* 63. *Protest.* protested. Now I desire them to satisfie me in their answers they give to these Reasons, what grounds they have in Scriptures for these Practices; for Ministers and Elders of severall Churches to meet together in greater Assemblies, to heare the matters of a particular Church, to try and judge Doctrines, to admonish and reprove, and to complaine, and that matters may with common advise and consent, be agreed upon, for those Churches, excepting onely generall rules and commands with the equity and Analogie of examples; so that if these Acts and Workes may be done lawfully, then the judging and determining of censures and the imposition of Orders and Decrees, may be warrantable, especially considering that the example of the Synod at *Jerusalem*, ordained those decrees for to be kept of the Churches, *Act. 16. ver.* 4. So that there was not onely discussion, disputation, common agreement, but imposition of them: besides these acts (which you grant) some of them be Acts of Power and government, other of these Acts are Church censures, as publicke reproving and admonition upon complaint, and accusations, as appeares by the 1 *Tim.* 5. 20. *Mat.* 18. *ver.* 15, 16, 17. So *Amesius* tells us, that the parts of Discipline are brotherly correction and excommunication: neither doth Discipline consist onely, or chiefely in the thunder-bolt of excommunications, but chiefely in Christian correction, and full

Amesi. lib. pr. ca. 37 de Discipl. Eccl.

full excommunication is not to be exercised, unlesse to the sinne there be added contumacy. And so admonitions and reproofes upon complaints, are held Church censures, by themselves. Now then if Officers of other Congregations with their owne Officers may exercise these censures, and that which is the chiefe part of Discipline, and if members of other Churches ought by the Law of Communion of Churches to seeke advise, helpe, and to submit to admonitions and reproofes, so as there may be good by them, then also may they submit to the decreeing of Excommunications by Synods: for if discipline may be lawfully exercised in that wherein it chiefely consists, as admonitions and reproofes by Officers of other Churches, towards members of such a congregation, then may it also be exercised in that wherein it lesse consits, and in this you are no more subject in conscience to a humane Ordinance, then you are in publicke admonitions and reproofes.

Reason. VIII.

THey doe grant and confesse that Churches of such a Communion and association, if upon complaints of false Doctrines, and evill Discipline, made to Synods and Classes, the Synods and classes convincing a Church of their errors, admonishing, and councelling them to reforme and to censure the obstinate persons among them, if after all this they shall persist and goe on, that then all these Churches ought to withdraw from them, renounce communion and fellowship with them, cast them off, and declare so much to their severall Congregations; Now I would know of them (avoyding strife about names, words, and formes of Excommunication) what is excommunication, but this? what is it to excommunicate, or to be excommunicated; but to reject persons, and not to have communion with them, neither

ther in holy nor civill things familiarly? for proofe of which, see these places. *Matth.* 18. *v.* 17. *If he neglect to heare the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen or Publican.* Which words are understood by all men that would found Discipline upon this place, to be meant of excommunication. So 2 *Thes.* 3. *v.* 6. 14, & 15. They are both understood of excommunication, and they are expressed by keeping no company with them, and by withdrawing communion from them; So that if Officers and Churches may doe this lawfully, then they may excommunicate members of other Congregations. So *Tit.* 3. *v.* 10. Excommunication is expressed under rejecting: so that our Independant Brethren should not upon word or names, make so great a stirre in the Church, and maintaine a controverse, even to separated Assemblies, when they doe yeeld the substance; hence it is, that one of them in that late Protestation Protested (meaning, I suppose, no other than his fellowes) plainely uses the word Excommunicate, which was not without a providence to make them yeeld to the Truth, not onely in the thing, but in the very name and terme.

Many other Reasons against Independancy I could subjoyne to these, as that this overthrowes Communion of Saints, as the impossibility of this Government to any Christian Common-wealth or Nation, &c. Besides the taking of all their evasions to these Reasons, (which I easily know and foresee) as also, an answer to all their arguments and reasons for Independancy: But intending this onely for a light skirmish, before I draw up my Forces to the maine Battell, and sending this forth but (as a Scout) to discover the strength or weakenesse of the other side, I will adde no more, onely that I doe not feare but that these few Souldiers will be able to returne againe alive, and unwounded, and be able to doe more service when they shall be joyned with others, and formed into *Battalio*.

Reasons

Reaſons Againſt A Toleration of ſome Independant *CHURCHES* IN ENGLAND.

Reaſon. I.

THough the Scriptures ſpeake much for tolerating and bearing one with another in many things, both in matters of opinion and practice, as theſe places teſtifie, *Rom.* 14. 1,2,3. 5. & 13,14. *verſes. Rom.* 15. 1,2. 7. *ver. Epheſ.* 4. 2,3. *ver. Phil.* 3. 15,16. *ver.* yet when differences come either to hereſie or ſchiſmes, and points be maintained by men, ſo as to trouble and diſturbe the Church, then the Scriptures are expreſſe againſt their Toleration and ſufferance, requiring them who have power, to hinder it, as may be ſeene, *Rev.* 2. 20. *I have a few things againſt*

the: because thou sufferest that Woman Jesabel, which calleth her selfe a Prophetesse teacheth, and to seduce my Servants. 1 Tim.1.3. Timothie must charge some in Ephesus to teach no other Doctrine. Tit. 1.10. Men who are unruly, and subvert whole Houses, teaching things that they ought not, for filthy lucres sake, their mouthes must be stopped. Tit.3.10. Titus must reject a man that is an Heretike after the first and second admonition. Rom.16. ver.17. Paul presses upon the Romans by earnest beseeching to Marke them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them, (which is far from tolerating them.) So Paul writes to the Galathians of some who troubled their Church, affirming Galath. 5.10.12. That he who troubleth you shall beare his judgement whosoever he be: And I would they were even cut off which trouble you. On which words Parens gives the Exposition, That to beare judgement, is to be punished, that is, troublers and disturbers of a Church and people, shall be punished first of God, and then of the Church, as also of the Magistrate; and on the 12.verse: Paul wishes they were cut off from the Church, which rend the Church about circumcision, who trouble and disturbe both the outward peace of the Church, as also your faith and consciences: So Calvin, on these two verses, 10. & 12. speakes thus: But let them beare whoever give occasion of troubles to the Churches, who loosen the unity of the Faith, who breake peace, and if they have any right understanding, let them tremble at this, for God doth pronounce by the mouth of Paul, that no Authors of such offences shall be unpunished. They teare and rend the Church about Circumcision, I would have them to be cut off. Neither can this be condemned of cruelty, as if it were against Charity, for if we compare the Church with one man, or a few, how farre doth that outweigh? for it is cruell mercy, which preserves one man, or a few, before the Church, &c. Now the Toleration desired, to set up Churches independant, and separated from the Churches in the Kingdome, it is in it selfe a schisme, a rent, and a troubling, disturbing

Parens in Gal. 5.v.10.12.

So Calvin in Gal 5.v.10.12. I intreat the Independant men in the feare of God to read & consider what is more fully set down in those two verses by Calvin and Parens.

bing of the Church, so it will prove more and more, (and cannot be avoided, according to their principles and practices hitherto) a daily schisme and rent in this Church, and an infinite disturbance, both to the outward peace, and to the faith and consciences of the people in this Kingdome. The Church of *England* will be as much troubled by it, as ever was the Church of *Galatia*, which will appeare more fully in the following Reasons. And therefore there ought to be no Toleration; every one in their place ought to be against it, the Magistrates, Ministers, and People. The permitting and suffering of evill, with the giving of any countenance to it, when men have power to hinder it, is to be partakers of their sinne, 1 *Tim.* 5.22. the second Epistle of *John*, the 11 *verse*. *Qui non prohibet, quando potest, jubet.* Hee that doth not forbid when he hath power, commands. And let me aske the Independant Ministers a question or two; Is it fitting that well meaning Christians should be suffered to goe and make Churches, and then proceed to chuse whom they will for Ministers, as some Taylor, Felt-maker, Button-maker, men ignorant, and low in parts, by whom they shall be led into sinne and errors, and to forsake the publicke assemblies, where they may enjoy worthy and pretious Pastors, after Gods owne heart, who would feed them with knowledge and understanding? If once there be a Toleration of Churches, it will be thus, but if they be hindered of all meetings, this would be prevented. So heresies also may take and spread in those separated assemblies, before they can be knowne to the Magistrates and Ministers of other Churches. Do not your hearts bleed within you to see and heare of this for the present in severall places, and to thinke what will be hereafter? O mine doth, and thus if once there were a Toleration, how many weake Brethren would perish for whom Christ dyed?

Reason

Reason. II.

THe toleration desired will not helpe to heale the Schismes and rents of this Church, (which is one speciall thing ought to be looked unto in this present reformation of the Church) but will much foment and encrease it. For whilst some congregations, and they accounted of note both for ministers and people, will not submit to the reformation and government setled by Law, this will breed in the peoples mindes many thoughts *Ex natura rei*, that this Church and government is not ordered according to the Word of God, but is unlawfull; else why should such men most eminent for gifts and graces, (as many people account them) refuse to conforme to it? and this will prove as great and as continued a division betweene the ministers and people of the Churches established by Law, and the Churches tolerated, as ever was betweene Conformists and Non-conformists about Ceremonies; nay greater, because these are of different Churches & Congregations, whereas Conformists and non-conformists held communion together in one Church, though contending about these matters; and that this will certainly be, may be easily beleeved and foreseene upon these grounds.

1. Because many of the people who yet be not in this Church way for their practise, are yet much possessed with these principles of the Independant way, as the onely way of God, and are much looking towards it.

2. The mindes of multitudes of the professors in *England*, and especially in this City, are upon all occasions very apt to fall to any way in Doctrine or Discipline that is not commonly received by the Church, as accounting some singular perfection to be in that which is new, and held but by a few.

3. Though

3. Though the Ministers of the Congregations tolerated, would promise not to preach of these points in publicke, nor in private to speake of them, (which yet they will not be tyed unto) yet their people many of them both men and women, are so strangely bold, pragmaticall, and so highly conceited of their way (as the Kingdome of Christ and the onely way of Christ) that what out of those principles, and what by vertue of their relations in friendship, kindred, &c. there would be continuall drawing of many, and many falling to them.

4. The prime principles of this Church way, as namely independancie, liberty, power, of government and rule to be in the people, are mighty pleasing to flesh and blood; people generally, chiefely meane persons, and such who have beene kept under, affecting Independancie, Liberty, Power, and Rule.

5. The grant of a toleration will be made use of by them for the strengthning of their way to be the truth; and will be interpreted in this sense, that they had such grounds and reasons, as the ablest Ministers in the Kingdome could not answer, and therefore were content they should have a toleration, (else if they could have satisfied them, what needed a toleration?) onely though they could not answer their Reasons, and had nothing to say, yet they would not come to them, and this will be spoken of by their followers, that we would not bee convinced, though we could say nothing against it: all which will (as a meanes to encrease their side) occasion continuall strifes, divisions, heart-burnings both of Ministers against Ministers, and people against people, so that in stead of Union and peace in the Kingdome and Church, we shall have notwithstanding all reformation, a greater division and rent succeede than ever before.

Reason. III.

THis toleration will not onely breede Divisions and Schismes, disturbing the peace and quiet of Churches and Townes, by setting them who are of different families, and in more remote relations one against another, but it will undoubtedly cause much disturbance, discontent, and divisions in the same families even betweene the neerest relations of husbands and wives, Fathers and children, brothers and sisters, Masters and Servants: The husband being of one Church, & the wife of another; the father of one, & the childe of another; the master of the Church established by Law, the servant of the tolerated; one brother of one Church, and another brother of another; and so all Oeconomicall relations and duties will be much disturbed, when as they of one house, and they in one bed shall be so divided, as that they shall not be of one Church, nor worship God together in Word, Sacraments, Prayer, but apart. O how will this overthrow all peace and quiet in families, filling husbands and wives with discontents, and setting at variance Fathers and children, each against other, weakning that fervent love in those relations! O how will this occasion disobedience, contempt, neglects of Governours from the inferiors of the family, whilst the Governours be looked upon by them, as not in a true Church! O how will this toleration take away (for every Saint must bee free to joyne himselfe voluntarily to what congregation he please) that power, authority, which God hath given the husbands, fathers, and masters, over wives, children, servants; whilst that they shall joyne against their wills to such Churches, and be stollen from them against their pleasure: neither can the Governours be able to judge of their profit in the Word, nor be certaine they sanctifie the Lords day (according as God hath layd

layd the charge upon them in the fourth Commandement) when as the children and servants are of other Churches; so that by these and many other things which will be found in experience, this toleration will pervert, disturbe, that Order of Gods owne appointing, namely the relations, duties, and workes of families, which were there nothing else to be sayd against it, this were enough, God certainely appointing no such Church way as is crosse to the good and peace of families (one order of God certainely not destroying another.) Nowhow strong this Reason is against this toleration, I submit to the Judgement of that Court, which hath the Legislative power, they knowing well that both Churches and Common-wealths are made of families all issuing out from thence, they being the Seminaries and Nurseries for both, and if there be a groundworke layd for disturbances, divisions, and disorders there, what can be firme, peaceable, or sure?

Reason. IIII.

THere will be great danger of continuall Divisions, distractions, disputes amongst us, not onely from the different forme of government and worship in their Churches and ours; but from other Doctrines and practises held by some of them for the present (as for instance that Saints when they dye, goe not to heaven where Christ is, but they goe to a third place; the sitting with their Hats on at the receiving of the Lords Supper, &c.) and others that will be dayly broached, and then their Churches being Independant and not under the government of any out of themselves, they will goe on without being hindred; and whereas we have now too many new and strange doctrines, we shall haye nothing but errours and novelties broached, and so greater contentions and breaches amongst us.

Reason. V.

THe moſt eminent Miniſters in this Kingdome for parts, grace, and Labours, can have little aſſurance of the continuance of their flockes to them, if ſuch a toleration be granted, for they will draw away their people, and admit them into their Churches, and even gather and encreaſe their Churches out of the labours of the beſt Miniſters, the Miniſters ſhall doe little elſe but ſpend, and be ſpent, for to get men for them; when Miniſters have travelled in birth of children, and ſhould have comfort and joy in them, then they will be ſtollen away. This toleration upon any diſcontent taken or any light occaſion of demanding dues, or preaching againſt any thing they like not, opens a wide dore and will invite them to deſert their Miniſters; and what a ſadding of the heart and diſcouragement in the worke of the Lord, this muſt be to the Miniſters of the Kingdome, let all judge.

Reason. VI.

A Toleration of Churches to bee erected as Independant, to enjoy liberty and exemption from the eſtabliſhed, will be undoubtedly a meanes and way of their infinite multiplication and encreaſe, even to increaſe them 30. fold, ſo that if the Parliament could like to have more of the breede, and have a delight to have multitudes to be exempted from the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes of the Land, (which Parliaments never did) no way like this: for we ſee within this nine moneths (though there be no toleration of their way) yet having not beene lookt after, how are they increaſed and multiplyed? and that there will be a mighty encreaſe upon a toleration (to ſay nothing of caſting a ſnare upon the

the people, by this to make doubts, nor nothing of the wantonneſſe and inſtability of many profeſſours, nor of the activeneſſe of many to ſpread theſe principles that their party may be conſiderable) this may evince it: In many, if not in moſt Townes and Pariſhes it cannot be helped, but that there are and will be for many yeeres, men of no great popular gifts for preaching, who alſo according to their principles, not having beene brought up to it, cannot ſo comply with their people: now many that live in theſe Pariſhes (ſeeing they may keepe their houſes and places of abode) upon the newes of a toleration, will for the benefit of more powerfull, practicall, and zealous Preaching, betake themſelves to goe to their Churches, (which liberty they cannot have in the Churches eſtabliſhed, for the Law (it is likely) will provide for men to keepe to their owne Miniſters, where there is ſufficient preaching) and ſo will fall to their principles, and ſo wee ſhall have upon this ground ſwarmes of them.

Reaſon. VI.

THe Prime and fundamentall principles of this Independant way, upon which they erect their Church way and independancy, are very prejudiciall, dangerous, and unſufferable, to this Kingdome, as for inſtances, Saints *quo* Saints, two or three of them or more, they onely have an immediate independant power from Chriſt their immediate head, to gather and combinde themſelves into viſible Churches, without expecting warrant from any Governours whatſoever upon earth, as alſo being thus gathered and joyned into a Church, to chuſe all officers among themſelves, and to exerciſe all Diſcipline and Eccleſiaſticall Government, even to Excomunication, without and againſt the good will and conſent of the Chriſtian Magiſtrates, but

Manuſ. of a Treatiſe of the Church.

the Magistrates whether Kings and Princes, or States, they have no power, but in all things of the Visible Church Christ is an Immediate Governour to the Saints, having put none of his power out of his hands to any Magistrate whatsoever, but though he hath given much power to Magistrates over goods, liberties, and lives of his Saints, yet this Spirituall power of gathering and making Churches, and of the power of exercising censures and Discipline so as it may not be exercised without their power and leave, he hath not given them; so that I desire them to consider and enquire whether this denying to Kings and Princes power and authority in causes Ecclesiasticall in the Church, and giving all Spirituall, Ecclesiasticall power immediately, and independantly under Christ to the particular Congregations, and not to the King, be not against these Lawes and Statutes of the Land, made in 26. *Henry* the 8. *cap.* 1. 25. yeere of *Henry* the 8. *cap.* 19. and the 1. yeere of *Elizabeth cap.* 1. where it will be found that all Jurisdiction, Superiority, Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall, as by any Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall power or authority hath beene, or may lawfully be exercised, for the visitation of the Ecclesiasticall state and persons, and for reformation, order and correction of the same, and of all manner of Errours, Heresies, Schismes, abuses, offences, &c. shall for ever by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme. As also that no orders nor constitutions may be enacted in the Church without the Kings assent, and hence the oath of Supremacie was appointed by Law for every Ecclesiasticall person to take: hence I aske the Independant men, seeing they give that immediate Ecclesiasticall power to their particular Churches, which the Papists doe to the Pope, whether they will take the oath of Supremacie, or doe acknowledge in their prayers that title of the *King, Defendor of the Faith, &c.* Secondly, they hold that things lawfull

full in themselves (as for instance, set formes of Prayer acknowledged by them to be lawfull) yet being enjoyned by Authority are now unlawfull, so that though a Forme of Prayer be lawfull, yet being imposed for order, uniformity, that alters the ease (a strange paradox that things lawfull in themselves tending to Order and Peace, should become unlawfull when commanded.) 3 They affirme that Christian Princes & Magistrates who are defenders of the Faith, have no more to doe in and about the Church then Heathen Princes. Some of them deny also and question that received axiome, that the Magistrate is *custos utriusque tabulæ*; Saying of those Kings of *Juda's* and *Israel* who medled in the Church with reformation and establishment of Religion, that they did it not as Kings, but as types of Christ: so that I leave it to better judgement whether it be safe for a Kingdome to tolerate such Churches who maintaine and vent upon all occasions such kinde of principles; and as the principles, so the people for a great part of them be dangerous and insufferable, heady, refractory, proud, bitter, scornefull, despisers of Authority, who though but a few comparatively and the Lawes standing, have attempted not to suffer the publicke prayers to be prayed, but what with singing, what with clapping on of Hats in times of prayer, what with reviling and threatning of Ministers, have laboured to hinder their use: Now if they dare attempt such practises and things being but a few, the Lawes being point blanke against them, and the Lawes establishing the other, what will they not doe when they shall be multiplyed and tolerated, if they come once to a great head? we may feare they will not tolerate the Churches, and Government established by Law: but what insolencies and mischiefes will follow upon their toleration, not onely in Ecclesiasticall government, but in Civill, I leave such who are experienced men in matters of Government to fore-see and Judge of, but hereafter

A Liturgie imposed is Popery saith the *Protestation Protested.*

Manus Treatis. of a Church.

Robins. Apol. c. 11.

after too late to remedie, but I desire rather to pray against a toleration, than to Prophecy of the wofull effects of it.

Reason. VIII.

THese independant men where they have power (as in new *England*) will not give a toleration for any other Ecclesiasticall Government or Churches but in their owne way, they would not suffer men of other opinions in doctrine and government to live within the bounds of their patent, though at the furtheſt bounds, but have banished them. They were sent to from *England* by some godly Ministers their brethren, men otherwise approved by them, as being against Ceremonies, who being in danger of leaving the Land, sent to know if they might have liberty according to their Consciences to goe in a Church way, something differing from theirs, and not in this Independant Popular Government; to which question you may reade the answer, they could not grant any other forme of government but one, seeing there is but one way of Church government layd downe in the Word, and that unchangeable, and therefore they cannot yeeld to it. So others of them will not tolerate, or admit into fellowship the godlieſt Christians, unleſſe they will enter into Covenant, profeſſe their faith, submit to their Church Orders, though they would be of their Church; so that theſe men who now would faine have a toleration in this great Kingdome will not allow any in a remote Plantation, nor in one of their small particular Congregations, for feare of disturbing the peace of their Church, and yet would have a toleration in this Kingdome, never caring to disturbe the peace, and good of the three Kingdomes which would be much hazarded by it, but thus partiall men are (and you may obſerve it)

Vide *Anſ.* from new *England* to the 32. queſt. sent by some *Lancaſhire* Miniſters.

it) tis ordinary for men when they are not in place nor have no power in Church or Common-wealth, and hold also Doctrines and principles contrary to what is held, and established, then to plead for tolerations, when as the same parsons comming to be in place and to have power, will not tolerate others to set up any way different from theirs. And I beleeve these present men, who here are endeavouring a toleration for their Churches had they the power in their hands to settle a Government, we should have no Government tolerated, nor Church but the Independant way, and for this see *The Proest ain Proested*, what he thinkes of our Church, and of what ever Government shall be established.

Reason. IX.

A Toleration may be demanded upon the same grounds for all the rigid *Brownists* of the Kingdom and for all the *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, and other Sectaries, who professe tis conscience in them, and in some respects upon better grounds it may be moved by them, as being perswaded we are no true Church, then for these Semi-Separatists; nay whether may not the Papists petition to, and hope to have a toleration of Religion, seeing it is Conscience in many of them as well as you, and if once an exemption be given from the Religion established by Law to one sort, why may not others thinke to have the same privilege? and therefore if ever the dore of Tolerations should be but a little opened, there would be great crouding by al sorts to enter in at it.

Reason. X.

THe granting a Toleration of this Independant way whose first & fundamental principle is, that two or three Saints, where ever or by what meanes soever they doe arise, separating themselves from the world into the fellowship of the Gospell, are a Church truely gathered and that they only have an immediate and independant *Rob. Justific.* 221.

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power from Christ their immediate head to gather and combine themselves without expecting warrant from any Governours whatsoever upon earth to make a Church, doth make way for any thing for Libertinisme or for any opinion in the world, that so all who fall into any Doctrine, or any who like not their owne Ministers and Church Government, either because they restraine them from sinne or keepe them to Gods Ordinances, they may goe three or foure of them, and enter into Covenant among themselves, and be a Church and live without Ministers and Sacraments a long time upon pretence that they can finde none fit for them yet (as these Independant men doe) and when they doe chuse, then chuse such of their owne opinions and wayes, and so they may live together at liberty in ways pleasing themselves: neither can this helpe it, to say this belongs onely to Saints, 'tis their Prerogative Royall and not others, for all Hereticks, Sectaries, or Libertines will count themselves Saints as well as our Independant men: they may be their owne Judges, and will say that they are Saints as well as you say, for the Ministers and Magistrates of the Kingdome shall not have the power to determine who be Saints and who not, so that if the State should tolerate the Independancie, they know not what they tolerate, but in the belly of this Independancie they tolerate and make way for Libertinisme, Heresie, and what ever Satan and the corrupt hearts of men have a pleasure to broach and fall into.

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Reason. X.

I Propound this question what these men would have in this toleration, whether the number of these Independant Congregations, that they would have tolerated, should be five or six Congregations onely, and no more, or shall the number be left undetermined; to bee

bee free to multiply into as many Churches as they please: if the number must be determined, this will overthrow their principles and Churches quickely, as when one Church breakes into two or three, as upon their principles it must, and oft times doth, as at *Amsterdam* into two, at *Roterdam* also, and at *London*, and when one of the Tolerated Churches breakes into two or three, which shall be reckoned, that that is the Church allowed of by the State, for each part will pretend to it: but now if they say the number must be left undetermined, then we may quickely have halfe a dozen of their Churches in some one Parish of a City or Towne, nay two or three Churches in a place, sprung out of one of their owne, and we may have every where three or foure men of an opinion, differing from others to goe make a different Church, and so they will encrease *in infinitum*, and there will be no end of divisions, and subdivisions.

But before I conclude, I will answer five or six Reasons, that be commonly alledged by them, for their Toleration in this Kingdome.

Reason. L.

THis is no more than what is granted to the *French*, and *Dutch*, who live amongst us, and have Churches and Government of their owne way, exempt from the Government established.

Answer. The case is quite different, and that will appeare by these particulars.

First, Those *French* and *Dutch* Protestants have nothing, nor desire nothing, but that which is Originally according to the Church and people they were borne and brought up in, they enjoy nothing as *Contradistinct* to the Protestants of *France* and *Holland*, but the

Independant men move for that which is *Contra-distinct* to their owne Church and Nation, Yea, and to all reformed Churches.

Secondly, This liberty was granted by our pious Princes in times of persecution to the Protestants, that so they might have here the exercise of their Religion in their owne tongue, when they could not enjoy it at home, and it hath beene of great use upon occasions in this way ever since, for a refuge to the persecuted Protestants, but what is your case to this? you may enjoy the Protestant Religion in this Land, and that by the Law and Authority of King and Parliament, what colour then, that you should move for an exemption of your Churches?

Thirdly, these *French* and *Dutch* Churches will willingly be joyned in Government, and in one way of Discipline with the Kingdome, if there be a reformation, which you will not.

Fourthly, These Churches are not in an Independant government, neither doe they hold your Principles of the Church, but be as much against them (as we) they doe admit of appeales, and in all businesse of greater moment have Synods.

Fifthly, They being strangers amongst us of different Nations and Tongues, not having those relations of Kindred and acquaintance with us, but keeping themselves, for the most part, among themselves, there is not that danger of drawing away the people, nor of causing Schismes, as from you that are of our Nation, and tongue, neither have they, or doe ever vent principles against our Church and Government, (as you doe) but content themselves with their owne way, they neither can, nor will admit ours to be members of their Congregations, in respect our people understand not their language, so that the people are so farre from leaving our Churches, and becomming members of theirs, as that our people cannot so much as resort to their Congre-

Congregations to heare them Preach, they Preaching in a language the people understand not, all which is quite contrary with you.

Sixthly, there is a great reason and necessity of allowing them Churches and places to Preach, and bee by themselves, because many of them understand not *English* at all, and for the benefit of strangers of their Religion who come over, who else could not enjoy the publicke exercise of their Religion at all, and they may well be allowed some Discipline among themselves in respect they maintaine all their own poore, not charging the Parishes where they live with them: all which will not hold as a ground for Toleration of Independancy: Their meetings by themselves, are not upon your principles of a Church, or Church government, but because of different language, &c.

Reason. II.

WE seeke no more then what is granted us in *Holland*, and what wee may enjoy there in a Countrey where we be strangers.

1. *Answer.* If your toleration in *Holland*, be a good ground for a toleration here, that we should doe so because *Holland* doth it, then there should be a Toleration for all Religions amongst us, as Jewes, Anabaptists, &c. And if you would have it so, speake out plainely, there are some of you have whispered it, and often spoke of it in private, in the answer you give to these reasons. Speake your mind, and if you justifie a Toleration of all Religions, I will discusse that question with you, and take it up against you as not fit, neither in Divinity nor policy, as both against Rules of Conscience and Policy.

Secondly, There may be a Toleration of you in *Holland*, with much more safety to the government esta-

bliſhed and peace of that Church, then can be here in this Kingdome, the people of that Country not underſtanding your language, having little or no relation to you, nor you to them, of kindred, friendſhip, where as it is quite otherwiſe here.

Thirdly, That people of the *Hollanders* generally are an induſtrious people minding their buſineſſes, profits, and keeping to what's eſtabliſhed by their Lawes, not troubling their heads ſo much with other points of Religion, but here in *England* and eſpecially in the City of *London*, and great Townes, many Profeſſors are more idle and buſie bodies, tatlers alſo, as it is ſaid, 1 *Tim.* 5.13. *ver.* Very wanton alſo in their Wits, affecting novelties in Religion, and liking of points that are not eſtabliſhed nor commonly held.

Fourthly, *Holland* tolerates you and many others, but it is more upon grounds and neceſſitie of worldly reſpects, becauſe of that benefit of exciſe towards the maintenance of warres which they have from them who live amongſt them, ſo that they are paid well for it, ſo that in this they meaſure things rather *Vtilitarie* *catoria*, than by the rule of Scriptures; and were it not for that and ſuch reſpects which the ſtate of that State hath put them upon, they would never grant tolerations, but there is not the ſame reaſon here in any reſpect, our riches and ſtrength ſtanding in one way of Religion and not in tolerations.

Reaſon. III.

IF wee may not have a toleration and a liberty of erecting ſome congregations among you, this will force us to leave the Kingdome that wee may have the liberty of our conſciences, and if you doe, what cruelty is this.

1. *Anſwer.* There is no need of a Toleration for you, and

and yet no need of forcing you to leave the Kingdome that you may enjoy your Consciences, and that will appeare if you calmely and meekely be content to heare Reasons and Principles which you your selves agree to, as namely, you hold that our Churches be true Churches, our Ministers true Ministers, Ordinances of word, Sacraments true, and that you can partake with us in our Congregations in all Ordinances even in comming to the Lords supper, provided that scandalous and ignorant persons be kept backe, and ceremonies removed; why then should you desire to set up other Churches, as different from ours? you can have but Word, Prayer, Sacraments, and Discipline in your owne, that you may enjoy in ours, is this any good reason for you to leave the Kingdome? I pray consider well, some of your Ministers at first comming over said (as I have beene told from good hands) they could take the charge of *Parochiall* Churches amongst us upon the reformation hoped for, and they could yeild to Presbyteriall government, by Classes and Synods, so not enjoyned to submit to it, as *Jure divino*, but since they have gotten some more hopes (I know not upon what grounds) they are now very hot for a Toleration, and will not heare of growing into one body with us.

Secondly; Seeing our Churches, Ministers, and Ordinance, be true, for you to erect new, and to withdraw from such Churches (though suppose they were in some things defective and not every way so rightly ordered as were to be desired) I know can never be answered to God, especially you having not the power and authority from God to order those Churches otherwise, and I desire you againe and againe to waigh whether you may not live in the Communion of such Churches, where some thing may be yet desired that is not, where it is not in your power to helpe, but that you are bound by the Command of God in such cases either to leave the Kingdome for that liberty, or else being private men

men in a Land where true Churches, Miniſters, and Ordinances are, to goe and ſet up divided Churches in that Land, both againſt the Lawes of the Land, and to the ſcandall of all the Churches, I beſeech you thinke upon it what is become of *Fraterna toleratio*, and of giving ſcandall, not to one Brother, but to thouſands of Congregations of Chriſt. And whether nothing wanting in matter of Order, may be Tolerated ſo long as a man is not put upon the practiſe of that which is unlawfull. As for thoſe Browniſts whoſe Principles and Conſciences (though very erroneous) hold that we have no true Church, Miniſtery, Ordinances, but all is Antichriſtian, they have a better warrant to ſet up new Aſſemblies, or to leave the Kingdome to enjoy their way; but as for you to withdraw and ſet up ſeparated aſſemblies upon no greater grounds, or cauſes, can never be juſtified, and I ſhall be ready upon that point to deale with any of you, and for your better ſatisfaction for the preſent, I wiſh the conſcientious and ſober Miniſters to read two pages in Maſter *Robinſons Apologie, Chap.* 12. *De Eccle. Anglic. pag.* 86, 87. Wherein he grants that Churches may not be departed from for circumſtantiall corruptions, nor for many inconveniencies, affirming that it is neither Chriſtian prudence nor charity to doe ſo; he ſhewes it is not an intolerable evill (though an evill to be lamented) for evill men to be ſuffered in the Church, nor that Diſcipline as it is called, or that Eccleſiaſticall government inſtituted by Chriſt, is neglected, or violated, but thats it, that the plaine contrary to it ſhould be eſtabliſhed by Law, and ſo he goes on: Now ſuppoſing our reformation, it will be otherwiſe with *England* then when he writ and the moſt that can be ſaid (ſuppoſing your principles the Truth, (though thats denyed by us) there will be but evill men ſuffered, and not men of the moſt profligate life, and Diſcipline inſtituted willbe but neglected or violated, not that which is quite contrary as eſtabliſhed by Law, take place.

Third-

Thirdly, You your ſelves live in, and are members of ſuch Churches, and thinke it unlawfull to forſake them, where, for many yeares together you beare with defects, and want ſome parts of government, and Officers appointed by Chriſt, more materiall then will be in ours, upon a reformation, as namely, without Paſtors, Elders, Widowes, many yeares together, without Sacraments a long time, without cenſures eſpecially unleſſe you allow people to be the inſtruments and exerciſe Excommunication without having Ordination of Officers, without prophecying alſo many yeares; Why can you not beare with ſome defects in our Churches, and be content to waite ſome yeares, till God either give you light to ſee your miſtakes, or elſe till we have more light to perfect what is wanting? You tell us that ſome things may be omitted for a time, as Circumciſion was in the Wilderneſſe, and that affirmatives doe not binde too alwayes, and that exerciſe of Diſcipline may be forborne for a time, when it is evident, it will not be for edification to the Church, but deſtruction; what ſhall hinder then, but that you ought to incorporate into our Aſſemblies, though ſomething yet were to be deſired? there is nothing contrary that will be put upon you (nor quite another thing.)

If you may publiquely proteſt againſt ſuch as you know ſhould not be admitted, and declare againſt the Churches faultineſſe in not proceeding againſt them, you may communicate with them, becauſe you have done all you can in this caſe.

Fourthly, You may ſafely be members of our congregations in the reformation of us, and in theſe times, becauſe you may without danger ſhew your diſlike and ſpeake againſt ſcandalous perſons, and againſt the fault of the Church, if they admit ſuch to the Sacrament, which being done, your ſelves grant you may communicate with them, ſo a Letter ſent from *Roterdam* grants. And I have heard this alledged, as the reaſon why you firſt left our Churches, but that reaſon now ceaſes, ſeeing either ſuch perſons will be wholly kept away, or elſe you may proteſt againſt them (though I muſt tell you, that practiſe you judge your ſelves tyed to, is founded upon a falſe principle) namely that the pow-

er of government is given by Christ to the body of the Congregation.

Fifthly, There is a *medium* betweene persecution (as you terme it) and a publicke Toleration, a middle way betweene not suffering men to live in the Land, and the granting them a liberty of separated Assemblies, so that there is no necessity either of leaving the Land, or of enjoying exempt Congregations (for there is a third *datur tertium*) as for Instance, Persons may be tolerated to inhabit in a Land, to enjoy their Lands, and liberties, and not be compelled to professe and practise things which are against their consciences; It is one thing to be forced and compelled positively to doe things against conscience, and another thing, not to be suffered the publicke practise of some things in separated Congregations, as to illustrate it thus, suppose the Papists upon their petitions to the Parliament should have those statutes repealed, which enjoynes them to come to our Churches, (which they say is against their consciences) though indeed they are bound by the command of God to come, and ought by the Magistrate to be compelled to come (as Doctor *Davenant* hath cleerely showed) yet the granting the Papists a Toleration of the publicke exercise of their Religion, to the scandall of the Reformed Churches and dishonour of God, were quite another thing, insomuch as the Papists though they petition the first, (upon deepe Protestation of living peaceably, and according to the Lawes of the Land) yet they move not for the last: so I judge you may live in the Land freely, and enjoy your liberties and estates, comming to our Churches, enjoying the ordinances, and are like never to be compelled to professe or practise what is against your judgements, the greatest inconvenience is but the forbearing of something you would have, which considering the questionablenesse of the thing, and the many other evills which would attend it, if you should enjoy it, you may in point of conscience

Daven. determ. quæst. 27.

ence be well satisfied without it; so that consider well, and you may find a *medium* betweene leaving the Land and enjoying a Toleration of exempt Congregations.

Sixthly, If all these former answers satisfie you not fully, because (though these things be true) yet besides these Ordinances and Ministers, you must be in a Church way and Fellowship, as now you are, then know, according to your Principles of a visible Church, laid downe by Master *Robinson*, and by your selves in all your Manuscripts, you may enjoy your way in having severall visible Churches, and that without that offence and scandall to Magistrates and Churches, and yet neither leave the Kingdome, nor have a Toleration, and that I will demonstrate thus; two or three Saints joyning together in a Covenant make a Church, a greater number is not required, neither Officers to the essence of a Church; a greater addition of company to this two or three, though they may make for the well being and flourishing of the Church, yet they are not of the essence of the Church. Now then every one of you in your owne Families, as the Husband, Wife, Children of age, and Servants, who are visible Saints, may be joyned in covenant to walke in Gods wayes, and to watch over one another, so that here is a Church, and every Master in his Family may set up holy exercises, and exercise Discipline among themselves for their Families, and thus in the Church that is in their house, they may exercise what Discipline they judge is wanting in ours, so that comming to our Churches to the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, they may serve God in their owne Families among themselves in a Church way, in wayes of admonition, reproofe, and other censures; nay every Church Family, or most of them may have Officers also amongst them, the Ministers Families may have a Pastor or Teacher, each Minister being made Pastor of his owne Family, chosen also he may be by

Rob. Catechis. Ans. to 2. quest. Rob. Justific. pag. 221.

Manus. Treat. of a church. I propound these things as being according to their principles, but not as mine.

his Family, who also may Preach and instruct his Family, and exercise Discipline amongst them; great Families, as Gentlemen or Citizens may themselves be teachers of their Families, according to your Principles, or may have some in their Families fit to be chosen Elders and Teachers to them, especially such of them who keepe Schollers in their houses, and still chosen by the Church of this Family: But if there be some Church Families who have none fit for Officers to their Church (which can hardly be in these kindes of Churches) yet this is not of the essence of the Church. But as for single persons, as Young men and Mayds, who are of your judgement, if you aske what they shall doe, seeing they have no Families, and cannot joyne two or three in a Family to make a Church. I answer, they may be Servants unto men of their owne judgement, and live in the Families of their owne way, and so may be in a Church: And thus you may enjoy your owne way without scandall or division, the Lawes not forbidding or medling what men doe in this kind, as how oft men pray in their owne Families, or catechise them, or whom they shut out from their Prayers and holy duties: But if it be said, how shall such (as are bred Schollers, the Ministers of this way) be maintained? it is not being Ministers to their owne Family will maintaine them? I answer, I have taken care to show them a way for maintenance also, how they may enjoy their Country, their Consciences, and maintenance, that so they need not be forced to seeke a Toleration of Churches, that they may be maintained, and that is thus; Supposing they will not take Pastorall charges of Parishes, but onely be Pastors of the Church in their house, yet holding it lawfull (as they doe) to Preach in our Congregations, they may take Lectures amongst us, and so be maintained, there will be want of many men for Lectures setled by gifts of the dead, and then no question but the government of the Church, which

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ſhall be eſtabliſhed by Law, will be ſo moderate, that if men hold the maine points of Doctrine with the Church, be pious in life and peaceable, ſo as not to Preach nor ſpeake againſt whats eſtabliſhed by Law, nor doe not make Schiſmes to goe and ſet up ſeparated Aſſemblies (which practiſes cauſed troubles in the Church) they may enjoy all liberty and (as many Scriptures ſhow) freedome, though in point of opinion and judgement there may be ſome difference from things eſtabliſhed by Law (for I ſuppoſe we ſhall not have ſubſcriptions enjoyned to formes of government and Diſcipline) but onely to Doctrines, and that alſo in maine and cleere poynts, ſo that by all this you may apprehend how without a Toleration, you may in a ſecret and peaceable way enjoy your Church fellowſhip with maintenance alſo. What ever elſe you ſeeke for by a Toleration of many Families to make a Church, is but for the more comfort & flouriſhing of your way, but not as that which is neceſſary to your way, now in a buſines which is but of conveniency, & not of neceſſity, according to your principles, (though you had a liberty & priviledge to enjoy it, yet) where ſo much ſcandal may come of your liberty, and it cannot be avoyded (for though one of the more ſober and conſcientious Miniſters and people could uſe it better, yet moſt would abuſe it; as the rigid Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and many weake Chriſtians) you ſhould not uſe it but forbeare, ſo the Apoſtle teaches us, 1 *Cor.*8.*v.*9. So *Gal.* 5.*v.* 13.14.15. Now a ſcandall is ſome word or action, giving an occaſion of ruine to a weake brother, which practice of yours would certainely doe; now to the avoiding the ſcandall of the weake, *All thoſe things are to be done or omitted, which may be done or omitted without ſinne*, as *Ameſius* grants, *lib.*5. *de Conſ. cap.*11. So *Gerſon* ſpeakes, *part* 2. *Reg. moral. A man is bound to deſiſt from every act, to which he is not neceſſarily tyed, where upon good grounds the ſcandall of the weake is feared.* Now the ſetting up of ſeparated Aſſemblies in this Church, may be omitted without

sinne, neither are ye necessarily tyed to it, as will appeare by this sixth Answer. Besides, considering all the former answers, wherein you see what you may enjoy in this Kingdome in liberty of Ordinances and Consciences, you are not tyed for some matter of convenience, which you might enjoy in another Kingdome, to withdraw from this Church, and to leave your owne Country, for your satisfaction in which point, I had rather Doctor *Amesius* should speake then I, to whom I referre you, who in his cases of Conscience about this point, saith thus. *A man may keepe Communion with a Church wherein wicked men are suffered, and good men depressed, and that upon sever all reasons, amongst others, upon this ground; Because from such a Church to a purer, there is oft times no removing without great dammages and hinderance, which ought to be avoyded alwayes (as much as may be) without sinne: yea such dammages and losses doe sometimes cause that an affirmative precept ceases to bind. A man may joyne himselfe and live in such a Church, in which many defects are necessarily to be tolerated, yea, and joyne to that Church, where the power of removing scandalls, and casting out wicked men is taken away, if he cannot without great prejudice and hurt, goe to a freer Church, and men sinne not either in joyning to such a Church, or continuing in it. But yet further he grants, a man may be a member of such a Church in which some things instituted by Christ are wanting; and where some things appointed by men are introduced.* So that I beseech you Brethren, lay all these six answers together, and consider sadly whether God requires of you, unlesse you may have a Toleration, to leave the Kingdome: to run many hazards and dangers for Churches after your way, when as you may enjoy so much at home without a Toleration of exempt Assemblies, as I have opened in these six answers.

Ames. lib. 4. de cons. cap. 24. de Eccle.

Seventhly, If notwithstanding all that is said to you you will not be satisfied, without setting up Churches against the Church, it were better for you to leave the King-

Kingdome, and to returne backe to your charges, and families into *Holland*, and others of your minde, who cannot be ſatisfied, to leave the Land, and to goe to *New England*, or elſe where, rather then by erecting of Churches by Toleration or without it to diſturbe the good and peace of three Kingdomes; and this will be no great harme to many of you, for you may eaſily returne, being able to live and ſubſiſt there comfortably (as you ſay your ſelves:) and for my owne part were I of your way (ſo farre as I know my owne heart) I had rather goe to the uttermoſt parts of the Earth, though to live in a hard and meane condition, than to diſturbe the peace or good of three Kingdomes, as you would doe by a Toleration. Looke what is commonly ſaid, *præſtat ut pereat unus quam unitas*, It is better that one periſh than unity, ſo I ſay it is farre better a few Miniſters and people wanted ſome outward accommodations of their owne Countrey than that the good of the whole ſhould be ſo in danger, neither is there any cruelty or perſecution in it, (as they will be apt to phraſe it) for if the purity of Doctrine, holineſſe of life, peace of the Church cannot be preſerved by ſuch a Toleration (as I have in part ſhewed, and can make it plaine) then it ought not to be, and I will ſpeake for my ſelfe, and in the behalfe of hundreds of my Brethren, painefull in the Miniſtery, who have borne the brunt of the times, that we profeſſe we will ſubmit to the reformation and government eſtabliſhed by Law, which we doubt not but will be very bleſſed and glorious, but however things ſhould fall out, we would either patiently tolerate what is not in our ſpheare to reforme, or quietly ſit downe in the Kingdome, or elſe with leave betake our ſelves to ſome other Countryes, being fully reſolved in our Conſciences, that circumſtances in and about externall formes of Government in matter of order can never be ſufficient grounds to us, to ſet up Churches againſt a Church where true Churches are, and ſo to prove

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meanes of eternall divisions and heart-burnings between Ministers and people.

Reason. IIII.

IBut if these Ministers, and some such Churches be not tolerated, they are afraid that in time they shall draw most of the good people out of the Land after them.

First *Answer.* I heare one of them say so, but I suppose they rather hope then feare it, and this plainely shewes they have a good conceit of themselves, and of their owne way.

Secondly, For their feare, we feare too (but not as they doe) but this, that if they have a toleration, they may draw away many good people, especially if the ceremonies and the Liturgy stand in full force, and their Churches tolerated, they will make brave worke in a short time (though I am confident God will preserve many judicious, advised Christians from their way notwithstanding:) but let there be no Toleration granted, and they once well shipt, and a reformation amongst us in government, and Ministers, that feare is over with me, we feare it not, that many will follow them, for when that which first bred these men, the violent pressing of ceremonies, the casting out of good Ministers, the many notorious persons suffered in the Church without all censure, shall be removed, many will not be bred, and others will be satisfied, and I doubt it not but that the godly and painefull Ministers of the Church of *England*, may and will, both out-Preach them, and out-live them, and may be compared with them for all excellencies, and abilities: for my part I shall speake as I finde, I knew many of them long before they fell to this way, and know them since, and have not seene any of them better, or more profitable

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in life and Ministry, for their charge; onely this I am sure of, for some of them, whereas whilst of the Church of *England* they Preacht often, now seldome, they goe looser in their apparell and haire, they take lesse care for the publicke in things that concerne the glory of God and Salvation of mens soules, their principles & spirits grow very narrow like their Churches, they grow more strange, reserved, subtile, in a word, they minde little else but the propagation of their Independant way, (as *The Protestation Protested* witnesseth abundantly) and I shall speake my Conscience from the experience I have had of many of them having studyed and observed them and their writings and never saw nor heard of any men who fell fully to that way, that ever had so large a spirit for good, afterwards to take that care of propagating the Gospell and preaching the Word to men without; I never knew any man that ever God honoured so much, after he fell to those principles as before, though the same persons before have beene active for God, doing famously and worthily, yet when they fall to this way, they either blemish themselves, or doe little; and the truth is, those principles of separation be such as God did never honour much the men who held them: looke what is sayd by them of Episcopacie, that the very calling of it hath such a malignity in it, that it hurts the best men that are placed in those chaires, that I may say truely, of this way, there is a malignity cleaves to it, hurting the men that fall to it, by altering their spirits and contracting their hearts, (though many of them continue good in the maine.)

And what ever Liturgie or Ceremonies or Discipline are left to accompany this Natiouall Church Government, tis indifferent with us, so as we may enjoy our Christian libertie in the true use of such Ordinances, and of such Independant Government as Christ the onely Law-giver of his Church, and Lord of the conscience, hath left unto us in his Word.

Reason. V.

THis is no other but envie in the Ministers that makes them against a toleration, because they feare

their people will desert them and come to us, being so pure in Ordinances and Churches; and thus *The Protestation Protested* speakes, and tis frequently in some of their mouths.

Answ. 1. It is not out of envy to their ministers and Christians; for first I hold their practise sinfull and unwarrantable to separate from our Churches and to erect such Congregations, and therefore I speake against it, and that by the helpe of God I shall make good in a following discourse.

2. It cannot be counted envie in Ministers to be unwilling to have their flockes and people fall from them, is it envie in a father to be unwilling to have his children stollen from him and tempted away by strangers? I aske such of you who be fathers if you would be willing to have your Children forsake you and that with renouncing the womb that bare them, & the paps that gave them sucke, throwing dirt into the face of Father and Mother? Now this is the case for Ministers, to have their spirituall children whom they have begotten to God, who are their comfort and the fruite of all their Labours to fall from them and to despite them afterwards cannot be pleasing, neither ought it: looke what the Jewes gave out falsely concerning the naturall body of Christ that his Disciples *came by night and stole it away*, that may be sayd truely of his Mysticall body, Beleevers you by your tolerations would have your Disciples come by night and steale them away, and therefore we ought not to sleepe, but to watch against you.

Answ. 3. I envie you not, but pity and love you, and would not have you have such a sword as a Toleration put into your hands (though some amongst you perhaps might use it better) to hurt your selves with, and to have such an occasion to run upon the rocke of Schisme, and to goe out of the way dayly turning into errours on the right hand.

Answ. 4. This Author would intimate and make the world

world beleeve, as if for ay the honeſt ſoules were with them, and would be for their way, but as for them who be againſt their way and toleration, they are not ſuch honeſt ſoules: but let them know honeſt ſoules are not onely with them, for in the Church of *England* there ever have beene, and are as honeſt miniſters and people that have rejected your way, as ever any that fell to it, nay the greateſt Non-conformiſts and moſt able in that way, have writ the moſt againſt you, and laboured upon all occaſions to preſerve people from falling to you, as Mr *Cartwright*, Mr *Brightman*, Mr *Parker*, Mr *Hilderſham*, Dr *Ames*, Mr *Bradſhawe*, Mr *Ball*, Mr *Dod*, Mr *Baines*, with many others.

Reaſon. VI.

IBut they be good men, and men of great gifts, and therefore they ſhould bee tolerated to have ſuch Churches, tis pity they ſhould leave the land, and we loſe their prayers.

Anſw. 1. The better men they be, and the more able, the worſe to ſet up ſeparated Churches, for they will the more endanger the peace of the Kingdome, and make the Schiſmes greater.

2. For their prayers we may have the benefit of them as well when they are abſent as preſent, and ſome of them have ſayd, they pray'd more for *England*, when out of it than when in it.

3. They left the Kingdome when it was in greateſt danger and in moſt neede of helpe, and provided for themſelves to keepe in a whole skin, and without them we ſtood here in the gap, and prevailed with God, and rather than to buy their company at ſuch a rate as a Toleration, it is better to want it, as I ſhewed before, and I queſtion not but the Kingdome will doe well enough though they returne, and the better unleſſe they

ceaſe ſowing of their principles.

4. For this objection of being good men, I ſhall anſwere it at large in another Tractate, wherein I ſhall minde men of many dangers that may ariſe to them from good and eminent men, and fully ſhew what little ſtrength there is in that Reaſon; clearing alſo many things in reference to that Objection.

Queſt. I, but may not conſcientious men who agree with us in the maine in points of Doctrine and Practiſe, be tolerated and ſpared in ſome things wherein they differ from what is commonly received?

Anſw. Yes, I doe in my judgement much allow of bearing and forbearing one another in many differences of opinions and practiſes, ſo as Chriſtians ought not to judge nor cenſure one another, nor refuſe communion and fellowſhip by not admitting men into their Churches and to the Ordinances upon ſuch points (which is the great fault of the Independant Churches, denying communion to many Saints for ſome differences in Judgement about Church government and Orders; which practiſe of theirs is expreſſe againſt the 15. *Rom.* 7.) neither to force men to change their mindes and opinions by caſting them violently out of the miniſtry and Church (which was the practiſe of many in theſe late times, and hath cauſed ſo many Schiſmes and ſtirres amongſt us:) I approve not ſuch practiſes, but deſire to be a follower and lover of all the wayes of peace and Communion, with any who agree in the maine, and have ſomething of God and Chriſt in them: The practiſe of *Anicetus* and *Polycarpus*, with that of *Cyprian*, are infinitely pleaſing to me (and I wiſh they were more imitated) *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus* in the difference about keeping of dayes, though neither of them could perſwade the other to change their cuſtome, yet they kept faſt the bond of Chriſtian fellowſhip; *Anicetus* admitting *Polycarpus* to the Communion of the Roman Church, and departing in peace one

Rom. 14. 3.

one from the other. *Cyprian* (though he erred in the point of rebaptization) yet he would not condemne them raſhly who were of a contrary opinion, nor refuſe Communion with them, profeſſing that for the difference of opinions, he would not breake the Lords peace with his Colleagues, nor remove any that was of a different minde from him, from the right of Communion: So that men may be tolerated in their differences of opinions, ſo long as they keepe Communion with a Church, and ſubmit to the Diſcipline and Orders ſo as to be peaceable and not to ſpeake againſt whats eſtabliſhed by common conſent, nor practiſe to the ſcandall and contempt of the Magiſtrates and Church: But if a few men, halfe a dozen or halfe a ſcore Miniſters, refuſe Communion with a Church, rending from the body, by ſetting up of a Church againſt a Church, Preaching and venting their opinions every where, to the diſturbance of a Kingdome, and the drawing of Diſciples after them, though they were Miniſters of gold, and had the tongue of men and Angells, yet they ſhould not have a Toleration; upon which ſubject they may read (a) *Calvins* laſt Epiſtle to *Farellus*, wherein *Calvins* counſell concerning *Farellus* Colleague is this; That if he will not be reduced to Order, the Miniſters ſhould tell him that he is not to be reckoned of as a brother, who doth diſturbe the common Diſcipline by his contumacie: This was ever a cuſtome in the Church which was decreed in ancient Synods, that who would not ſubject to the Lawes of common Diſcipline ſhould bee put by his place. Neither is the authority of men here to bee ſought after, when as the Spirit of God pronounces of ſuch, 1 *Cor.* 11. 16. *That the Church hath no cuſtome of contending.* So that in all this diſcourſe againſt a Toleration, I have not written out of violence of Spirit, cruelty, or ill will to the men, for I love and reſpect them, (though for the preſent in an errour) but from a zeale to the Glory of God, and the good of this Church

(a) *Cal. Farel. Epiſt.* 397. Quod ſi pervicaciter recuſare inſtiterit, denuncient ſibi non eſſe loco fratris, qui communem diſciplinam contumacia ſua perturbet: ſemper hoc in Eccleſia valuit, quod veteribus ſynodis fuit decretum, ut qui ſubjici communis diſciplinæ legibus noluerit muneri abdicetur: neque hic quærenda eſt hominum authoritas, cum Spiritus Sanctus de talibus pronunciaverit, Eccleſiam non habere morem contendendi, valere ergo ipſum jubeant, qui communis ſanctitatis jura ſpuit.

for the preservation of purity of doctrine, holinesse of life and peace, (which cannot stand with a Toleration) and though I be earnest in this cause, tis not from suddaine apprehension or passion, for I have had long thoughts of this Church way, and I doe apprehend more evill in it, than men doe see at first, or than the Independants can see, it being their owne cause, and they many wayes engaged in it: O that the Independant Ministers would with an impartiall desire of satisfaction, consider what hath beene written, and be perswaded to lay aside all thoughts of setting up separated assemblies, and come and grow into one body, joyning in one way with us! For which end I will commend to them the Councell of (b) *Calvin*, given in a like case concerning a Minister, who dissented from the the rest of his fellowes. Let him remember amongst other things what *Paul* requires in a Pastor, this is not the last, *that he ought not to be selfe willed*, that is, addicted to his own proper judgement; and certainely this is one of the chiefe vertues of a good Pastor, so from the whole heart to feare contentions; that he may never dissent from his brethren, unlesse it be for causes greatly necessary. Now considering what they may enjoy in this Church (as I have before shewed at large in the Answers to the three Reasons) some circumstances about the manner and forme of Discipline (as the exercising of it Independantly) cannot be a cause greatly necessary, especially if we will beleeve *Calvin* (c) who affirmes that the Scriptures expresse the substance of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, but the forme of exercising it, because tis not prescribed by the Lord, it ought to be ordered and appointed by the Ministers for edification. Please not your selves in your opinions, be not so addicted to your owne judgement (for tis certaine saith *Calvin* (d) that every man

(b) Fratrem vero illum qui hactenus a vobis dissensit, obsecramus in Domino ne ulterius pertinacia contendat ad repugnandum. Memineritinter alia, quæ *Paulus* in Pastore requirit, hoc esse non postremum, nesit αὐθάδης, hoc est proprio judicio addictus. Et certe hæc una est ex præcipuis virtutibus boni pastoris, sic exhortere toto pectore contentiones ut nunquam a fratribus nisi ob causas maxime necessarias, dissideat, *Cal. Epi.* 55. (c) Substantiam Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ exprimit diserte verbis Scriptura: forma autem ejus exercendæ, quoniam a Domino præscripta non est, a ministris constitui debet pro ædificatione, *Cal. Epist.* 55. (d) Et certe omnis αὐθάδης, simulac se occasio dederit, tam non Schismaticus. *Cal in Tit.* 1. v. 7.

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who is addicted and wedded to his owne judgement, ſo ſoone as ever an occaſion offers it ſelfe, will be a Schiſmaticke: of which reade more in that place.

And thus I have delivered my owne ſoule, hoping that either our brethren will withdraw their Petitions ſo as they ſhall never be read in the Honourable Houſe of Commons, or if they ſhould, I hope the Houſe will caſt them out, for I am perſwaded it ſhall never be ſayd of this Parliament in the ages to come, that they were the firſt that opened a dore for Tolerations, and for ſetting up of Churches againſt the Church; which if ever that dore ſhould be opened (which God of his mercy keepe ſhut) I leave it to their great wiſedomes to foreſee what infinite evils would in proceſſe of time come upon this Kingdome, and whether the ſucceeding generations would not write in their Chronicles and Hiſtories (as is written of *Naaman*, 2 *King.* 5. 1. *Now Naaman was a great man with his Maſter, and honourable, becauſe by him the Lord had given deliverance unto Syria: He was alſo a mighty man in valour, but he was a Leper*) Such a Parliament was great and Honourable becauſe by them the Lord gave deliverance unto *England*, it was alſo a mighty Parliament for executing juſtice, and for making ſuch and ſuch excellent Lawes, but it granted a Toleration; whether this would not caſt a darke ſhaddow upon their glorious light, and be as a dead flye in the Oyntment of the Apothecary; I humbly ſubmit to their judgement. But to conclude this diſcourſe both againſt Independancie, and againſt Tolerations, the day is ſhortly comming will try all, and I rejoyce in the thoughts of it, in regard of the accounts I ſhall give about this controverſie of Separation, nothing doubting but in that great day (Chriſt of his rich grace pardoning the weakneſſes that have, may, and doe cleave to me in the manner of managing it) will owne my whole worke, and endeavours againſt that way

way of Separation, as ſtirred up by his owne Spirit, and followed all along by his Spirit, enabling mee in it and to it above my owne ſtrength; and though I expect many cenſures and reproaches from that ſort of men yet then I ſhall have prayſe with God, and the reward of all my labour, for truth, love, peace, and holineſſe, which I aime at in this and all other Diſcourſes about this Controverſie.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM